CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS
LONDON: Fetter Lane
NEW YORK
The Macmillan Co.
BOMBAY, CALCUTTA and MADRAS
Macmillan and Co., Ltd.
TORONTO
The Macmillan Co. of Canada, Ltd.
TOKYO
Maruzen-Kabushiki-Kaisha

The WORD of LALLA the PROPHETESS

BEING THE SAYINGS *of* LAL DED *or* LAL DIDDI *of* KASHMIR

(GRANNY LAL)

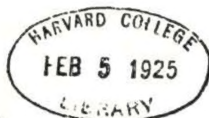
Known also as LALESHWARI, LALLA YOGISHWARI & LALISHRI, between 1300 & 1400 A.D.

Done into ENGLISH VERSE
from the LALLA-VAKYANI *or* LAL-WAKHI
and ANNOTATED *by*

SIR RICHARD CARNAC TEMPLE, *Bt.*
Principal Editor of the *Indian Antiquary*



CAMBRIDGE
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS
MCMXXIV



PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN

Go, Little Book, into the market place
And there, perchance, will be, to find thee fair,
Some that are filled with love and longing rare
For others' searchings for the Lord of Grace,—
For knowledge of the road of them that trace
His footfalls with hope infinite,—and care
Unstrained to follow Him, that so they share
The Love of God and greet Him face to face.
Surely in the Lord's Market some there be
That, heedless of thy manner and thy way,—
Whether they be of suasion or the rod,—
And careless of thy alien form, shall see,
Behind the strange mists of thy words' array,
The light of yearning for the Grace of God.

To LALLA YOGISHWARI

I

Lalla, though nought but a devotee,
Daughter in truth of thy race and time,
Thine is a song that enslaveth me,
Son of an alien kin and clime.

Song that hath life in a yearning Faith,
Passionate, clinging, and yet Divine;
Clothed in Doctrine that seems but a wraith
To the far eyes of a Faith like mine.

Yet dost thou ever from lofty Heights
Smile on the Depths wherein we must live,
Conscious of the Mystery that lights
Darkness that is all this World can give;

Vocal from a Soul that must proclaim
Faith that ever unto Him returns;
Lovable for poesy aflame
With the red fire of a Thought that burns.

II

Lalla, thy Doctrines are not for me—
Flowers that bloom in a foreign land—
Fruits that hang from an alien tree—
Trees that are trained by a stranger's hand.

Who am I, Lalla, that I should preach
That to be bad which thy forbears taught;—
Thus being tutored, that thou couldst teach
Nought but Unwisdom with Folly fraught?

Am I not one that hath raised his head
Out of the soil where One sowed the seed?
Do I not, whither, like thee, I'm led,
Grope for the Goal we both of us need?

Lalla, thy ways could never be mine:
Man's ways are ever bred in his bones.
Thou didst learn only those ways of thine:
Since I learnt other, shall I throw stones?

III

Lalla, thy Soul is not of this World,
Thinking apart from this Life of ruth.
Flaunts one Thought as a banner unfurled—
Signal afar of Eternal Truth:—

Give Him such Name as doth Him beseem.
Seek for Him by any Road ye may.
What of it? He is the One Supreme,
Shining at the End of ev'ry Way.

PREFACE

IN 1920 the Royal Asiatic Society published as one of its Monographs (Vol. XVII) the *Lallâ-vâkyâni*, or "Wise Sayings of Lal Ded (or Lallâ), a mystic poetess of ancient Kashmîr." They were edited with translation, notes and vocabulary by Sir George Grierson and Dr Lionel D. Barnett. It was a work of great scholarship, each of the editors taking his share with a consummate mastery of a difficult subject: Sir George Grierson as to the linguistic, and Dr Barnett as to the philosophic phase of it.

It impressed me forcibly, because, irrespective of the merits of the editors, the authoress of the Sayings, as a wandering ascetic and devoted follower of the Shaiva Yôga form of the religion of the Hindus, obtained such a hold on the people of the country that her verses have become a household word. This is because her songs illustrate her religion on its popular side, though they are not a systematic exposition of Shaivism on the lines laid down by the theologians who preceded her. In fact, what we have in her poems is not a mere book-religion, as evolved in the minds of great thinkers and idealists, but a picture of the actual hopes and fears of the common folk that nominally followed the teaching of these wise men, whom they had accepted as guides. She gives, indeed, an account, often in vivid and picturesque language, of the actual working out in practice of a religion previously worked out in theory. As such Lallâ's work is a unique contribution to the body of evidence that must necessarily form the basis of a future history of one of the most important religions of India, of which very little is even yet known in England.

What the Kâshmîrîs think of Lallâ's verse has been well described quite lately by her fellow-countryman, Pandit Anand Koul, President of Srînagar Municipality: "The Lal Wâkhî, or Sayings of Lal, apart from being the utterances of a holy woman, expressive of grand and lofty thoughts and spiritual laws, are short, apt, sweet, thrilling, life-giving, and pregnant with the greatest moral principles,—aye, veritable pearls and diamonds and 'gems of purest ray serene' of the Kâshmîrî Literature. They are current coin of quotation, a

Volume being packed in a single Saying. They touch the Kâshmîrî's ear as well as the chords of his heart, and are freely quoted by him as maxims on appropriate occasions in conversation, having moulded the national mind and set up a national ideal." There must be something worth investigation in poems having such an effect on the minds of the people to whom they are addressed.

The joint edition of Sir George Grierson and Dr Barnett of Lallâ's work is necessarily a book for scholars in languages and things Indian, and it is not likely, therefore, to reach the ordinary reading public of England, but in view of the importance of explaining to that public what the Hindus think, it struck me as worth while to render Lallâ's poems into English verse, despite the great difficulty of such an attempt.

The difference between Indian and Western theological and philosophical terms is so great, and Lallâ's use of religious technicalities, familiar to all her countrymen, just as are references to Biblical terminology to Christians, is so incessant, that I soon found it impossible to translate her actual quatrains into English verse. It thus became necessary to render her meaning rather than her verse into English as nearly as possible in her manner. So in the present edition the reader will not find a translation, but I am assured by Sir George Grierson and Dr Barnett that my rendering does convey Lallâ's meaning with sufficient accuracy.

It was found that even a free presentation of Lallâ's verse was not likely to convey to the reader, inexpert in things Indian, an adequate idea of the facts of Lallâ's philosophy and belief, unless he were previously put in possession of the outlines of the sources of her religion and her religion itself,—its theory, doctrine and practice. There has, therefore, been prefixed to the English verse form of her writings a brief history of Hinduism, with accounts of Kâshmîrî Shaivism and the Yôga System, besides an explanation of each poem. It must be remembered that Hinduism had two main divisions in Lallâ's day, as it has now,—Vaishnavism and Shaivism,—and that Lallâ was a Shaiva *yôginî* of Kashmîr, in other words

a professed female follower of the Yôga System as understood there. Philosophic Hinduism by her date had acquired many other tendencies, and was strongly under the influence, *inter alia*, of Muhammadan Sûfîism and Hindu Bhâgavatism and Shâktism; but such matters need not be entered into here. They are dealt with in the brief history of Hinduism in general, as it affected Lallâ, to be found in these pages.

Lallâ was the immediate predecessor of the great mediæval Reformers, who have had so strong an effect on popular Hinduism as it now is, and so she is of considerable importance, as neither she nor they invented the Reforms, but merely voiced—powerfully enough indeed—the ideas of many thinkers of their times. They all became famous, because the ideas which they promulgated in rough taking verse, generally easily understood, were already in the air and appealed to the whole populace. Indeed, the likeness of much of Lallâ's teaching to that of one of the greatest of the Reformers, Kabîr, is more than remarkable.

She had, however, an advantage in being a Kâshmîrî, for her religious system based on the Shaiva Yôga philosophy and practice had long before her time been the object of much study amongst the learned Hindus of Kashmîr. From that remote corner of North-Western India their teaching influenced the whole peninsula. Even Râmânuja, the leader of a rival Vaishnava belief, in the early twelfth century of the Christian era—200 years and more before Lallâ's birth—felt compelled to travel from distant Madras to Kashmîr, with the special object of combating the whole creed at its fountain-head, leaving many Vaishnava ideas behind him, some of which find an echo in Lallâ's verse. There is an imposing mass of Kâshmîrî Shaiva literature still extant. Much of it has been published in the original Sanskrit, and more than one English work has been devoted to it.

The object of this version of Lallâ's Sayings is to place the Shaiva form of Hinduism, as it was understood by her, before the English reader desiring to know something of Hinduism as it appears to thinking Hindus, without worrying him with unessential technicalities. This book, therefore,

does not profess to contain anything that is new, or that cannot be found in many English and other European works on the religion of the Hindus. I have, on this account, given no references for the statements in it. Those wishing to go further into the subject can find what they want in the *Lallâ-vâkyâni* of Sir George Grierson and Dr Barnett, and in Mr Chatterji's *Kashmir Shaivism*. I also tried to make the book free of vernacular technicalities, but after reflection I have included in brackets Indian words for the English forms given to technical terms which have had to be used, so that readers acquainted with Sanskrit and the Indian vernaculars may judge for themselves the correctness of the English translations. I have further added a full vocabulary of the Indian words used.

The arrangement I have adopted for Lallâ's quatrains is not that of Sir George Grierson, but a concordance will be found of the verses in this book and in the *Lallâ-vâkyâni*, and also in Sir Aurel Stein's MS.

I have adopted the explanations and remarks of Sir George Grierson and Dr Barnett in wholesale fashion; and they have not only most kindly agreed to such a procedure, but have further placed me in their debt by going over the whole of this book and giving me the benefit of their advice and valuable criticism.

I have also in these pages examined in detail Mr Chatterji's *Kashmir Shaivism*. This work, which does not appear to be readily obtainable in England, was published by the Research Department of the Kashmîr State at Srînagar[1] in May, 1914, and for the present purpose is of the first value and authority. In it Mr Chatterji has used his exhaustive knowledge of the considerable Sanskrit literature of Kashmîr, his deep learning in the Trika Philosophical System, and his thorough English education to give an exposition, which cannot but be authori-

[1] The Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies: *Kashmir Shaivism*, being a brief Introduction to the History, Literature and Doctrines of the Advaita Shaiva Philosophy of Kashmir, specifically called the Trika System, by J(agadisha) C(handra) Chatterji, B.A. (Cantab.), Vidyâvâridhi, Vol. II, Fasciculus I. The Research Department, Kashmir State, Srinagar, 1914.

tative, of the ideas and beliefs of Kâshmîrî Shaivas learned in their Religion and Philosophy. For a proper grasp of Lallâ's verse it is necessary to have as clear an understanding as possible of the theory on which the Trika Philosophy is based, as it was completed for all practical purposes about a century before her date. And though it would be unwise to assume that she had more than a general acquaintance with it, she was brought up and trained under it, and enough influenced by its main doctrines to be imbued with a burning desire to impart them to her world. Mr Chatterji's exposition shows clearly a modern Hindu's view of the Trika System, and in the circumstances one may assume that it is much that taken by teachers in Lallâ's day, and that therefore we have in it the religious ideas which she imbibed. I have consequently based an account of the theory of Lallâ's religion chiefly on his book, using largely his renderings of the Sanskrit technical terms, and I trust that justice has been done to the Indian thinkers.

I am also greatly indebted to Dr J. N. Farquhar's *Outlines of the Religious Literature of India*. Taking the works of these authors into consideration, I feel, without shifting any of the responsibility for statements made herein off my shoulders on to theirs, that this book is issued in as complete and accurate a form as is possible to a non-Indian writing on so abstruse and thorny a subject.

A word of warning to the general reader. Although I have avoided technicalities, it has not been possible to make the pages (Part II) relating to the theory and doctrine of Lallâ's religion ready reading.

R. C. TEMPLE

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

LALLÂ, the Prophetess of Kashmîr, is commonly known in her own country at the present day as Lal Ded, Lal Dîdî and Mâî Lal Dîddî, all of which names mean Granny Lal. She is also known as Lâlîshrî or Lâl the Great. In Sanskrit Literature she is called Lallâ Yôgîshwarî, Lallâ the Mistress of Yôga asceticism, or Lalêshwarî, Mistress Lalâ, Lalâ the Great. It is further said that Lal Dîdî is her name among Muhammadans and Lâlîshrî among Hindus. However this may be, Lal Ded is her usual appellation everywhere. Lallâ, Darling, is a common personal name of Kâshmîrî women, though legend has given it a very different and much coarser rendering in Lal Ded's case.

There are few countries in which so many wise saws and proverbial sayings are current as in Kashmîr. Knowles, in his *Dictionary of Kashmiri Proverbs*, has collected some 1600. None of these proverbs have greater repute than the *Lallâ-vâkyâni*, the Sayings or Word of Lallâ. There is not a Kâshmîrî,—Hindu or Musalmân,—who has not some of them ready on the tip of his tongue, and who does not reverence her memory. In this way she and her work are of general importance.

Though much legend has clustered round the name of Lallâ, little is really known about her. All that can be affirmed of her is that she certainly existed, and that she lived in the fourteenth century of the Christian era, being a contemporary of Sayyid 'Alî Hamadânî at the time of his visit to Kashmîr, 1379–80 to 1385–86 A.D. Her own Sayings tell us that she was in the habit of wandering about in a semi-nude or even nude state, dancing and singing in ecstatic frenzy, as did the Hebrew *nâbîs* of old and the more modern Muhammadan Dervishes. She was, in fact, a predecessor of the Mediæval Reformers of India,—Râmânanda, Kabîr and the others,—of the fifteenth and later centuries. Her Word is, therefore, of great importance in the history of Hinduism, as she is evidently the mouthpiece of the ideas of many thinkers of her day.

Her Sayings show Lallâ to have been a *yôginî*, a female professor of the Yôga discipline attached to the Shaiva branch of the religion of the Hindus, but, like many Kâshmîrîs, she was no bigot, and to her all religions were at one in their essentials. This doctrine of the Muhammadan Sûfîs she no doubt learnt in her association with Sayyid 'Alî Hamadânî and perhaps other Muhammadan saints, though it had long before been familiar to the Hindu philosophic world.

Sayyid 'Alî Hamadânî, the Muhammadan Apostle of Kashmîr, was a famous Saint, who exercised a great influence in the conversion of the country to Islâm, a process commenced some 40 years earlier under the Kâshmîrî king, Sultân Shamsu'ddîn (1341–46). He arrived in 1379–80, and stayed almost to his death five or six years later, in the reign of Sultân Kutbu'ddîn (1377–93). There is left in his honour the fine and well-known Masjid or Mosque of Shâh Hamadân in Srînagar, commenced in Sultân Kutbu'ddîn's time and finished by Sayyid 'Alî Hamadânî's *khalîfa* or successor, Mîr Muhammad Hamadânî, under Sultân Sikandar, Butshikan or Iconoclast (1393–1417).

Sayyid 'Alî Hamadânî, known also as Amîr Kabîr, Shâh Hamadân and 'Alî Sânî, was a leader of the great Nakshbandî Order of Sûfîs, founded by his contemporary Khwâja Muhammad Bahâu'ddîn Nakshband (1319–89) of Bukhâra or its neighbourhood. As an Order, the Nakshbandîs were mixed up with politics, and for some reason, probably as an opponent of Tîmûr, Sayyid 'Alî fled from Bukhâra, and it is said that with 700 disciples he entered Kashmîr in 1379–80, where he obtained a great influence over the ruler Sultân Kutbu'ddîn. He died in 1386 and was buried at Khuttilân in Persia[1].

Sayyid 'Alî Hamadânî's full name was Amîr Sayyid 'Alî Shihâbu'ddîn *bin* Mîr Sayyid Muhammad al-Husainî of Hamadân in Persia, and he is said, somewhat obscurely, to

[1] He is also said to have died at Pakhlî in the Hazâra District of the Panjâb, where there is a miracle-working shrine to him. He was author of the *Zakhîratu'l-Mulûk*, a treatise on political ethics. In common with other mediæval Muhammadan holy personages the exact dates of Sayyid 'Alî Hamadânî are uncertain.

have founded the Order of Sûfîs afterwards known as the Nûrbakhshîs of the Hazâra District in the Panjâb[1].

Lallâ is also said to have been influenced by the great national patron saint of the Kâshmîrîs named Nûru'ddîn Shâh, Nûru'ddîn Walî or Shêkh Nûru'ddîn, of Tsrâr Sharîf, about 15 miles from Srînagar. Popularly he is held to have been an elder contemporary of Sayyid 'Alî Hamadânî. He is also known as Nand Rishi and Sahazânand to the Kâshmîrî Hindus, and there is an important shrine to him at Tsrâr Sharîf, which is the object of Tsrâr Thursday, a Kâshmîrî institution, when the people from Srînagar go out there on Thursday afternoons so as to be present at the prayers and sermon there on Friday; and in October there is a *mêlâ* or fair held in his honour. Nûru'ddîn is credited with two favourite *khalîfas* or lieutenants: Sayyid 'Alî Baghdâdî, who is buried at Pakharpûr near Srînagar, and Bâbâ Nâsiru'ddîn, or simply Nasar, who like his chief is buried at Tsrâr Sharîf. To the last a popular verse is attached that has its counterpart in Persian of the time of the Emperor Akbar and his Minister Bîr Bal of the sixteenth century. Bâbâ Nâsiru'ddîn would thus be too late to be personally connected with Shêkh Nûru'ddîn, whose death could not have taken place later than in a year at the beginning of the fifteenth century. Shêkh Nûru'ddîn's memory is still a great power in Kashmîr, and Knowles has recorded as many proverbs ascribed to him as he has of those connected with Lal Ded[2].

It is possible, moreover, that in the popular mind stories of Nûru'ddîn the Kâshmîrî have been mixed up with those of another saint of the time named Nûru'ddîn *bin* Lutfu'llah, but better known generally as Hâfiz Abru, from his book *Ta'rîkh Hâfiz Abru*, who was born in Herât and educated

[1] Mîr Sayyid Muhammad al-Husainî is also said to have been of Bukhâra. The whole sacerdotal succession is, however, obscure, and the introduction of the Nûrbakhshîs, undoubtedly a branch of the Nakshbandîs, is attributed to another Nakshbandî, Amîr Sultân Shamsu'ddîn. The Nûrbakhshîs are further mixed up in a story with the Order of the Suharwardîs, whose founder is said to have died at Baghdâd in 1205 A.D., which would make them an older Order even than the Nakshbandîs.

[2] *Dictionary of Kashmiri Proverbs*, pp. 9, 112, 162, 205, 212, 220, 227, 242 and 252.

in Hamadân. He was a friend of Tîmûr and of Tîmûr's son Shâh Rukh, and died in 1425 A.D.

However this may all be, one narrator of a tale concerning Nûru'ddîn and Lallâ says that his date was 1377–93 A.D., which are impossible dates for the life of a Muhammadan Saint, and happen to be those of the reign of Sultân Kutbu'ddîn, the Kâshmîrî ruler to whom Sayyid 'Alî Hamadânî went for refuge. So it is possible that the title Nûru'ddîn in this story refers to the latter saint, especially as the same story is told of Lallâ in reference both to Sayyid 'Alî Hamadânî and Nûru'ddîn.

There are many Muhammadan saints and holy men reverenced in Kashmîr, and besides those already mentioned there is yet another Nakshbandî saint of the time, Amîr Shamsu'ddîn 'Irâkî, who is buried in the Zâdi-Bal quarter of Srînagar, leaving a great name behind him. Apparently stories concerning him have been mixed up with those of Sayyid 'Alî Hamadânî and Shêkh Nûru'ddîn. He was a Shî'a, whereas Sayyid 'Alî Hamadânî and Shêkh Nûru'ddîn were Sunnîs. In modern Kashmîr the followers of Nûru'ddîn are looked on as pure Kâshmîrîs, whereas the Sayyids and their followers, the Pîrzâdas, are looked on as of foreign origin. Like their Hindu compatriots, the Kâshmîrî Muhammadans are regarded generally as easy-going in reference to their religion, though there is considerable enmity between Shî'a and Sunnî, which has at times led to rioting.

The more or less uncertain accounts of these Muslim teachers[1] have been dwelt on to some extent because of their obvious importance to the story of Lallâ, since Lallâ's date can be approximately fixed by her association with them as at the end of the fourteenth century of the Christian era; and because in all the circumstances there can be no difficulty in accepting the tradition of Lallâ's connection with the Muhammadan holy men of mark in Kashmîr in her time and especially with Sayyid 'Alî Hamadânî,—although the modern

[1] Such accounts are always confusing when exposed to criticism. The *silsila* or sacerdotal genealogy of a Sûfî sect is often uncertain as to dates and sometimes self-contradictory.

professed Nakshbandîs of Kashmîr claim Khwâja Mu'înu'ddîn Nakshbandî, the seventeenth century saintly son-in-law of the Mughal Emperor Shâh Jahân, as their founder.

Assuming the above views to be correct, it is well to note some of the tenets of the Nakshbandî and Sûfî saints with a view to ascertaining how far they are reflected in Lallâ's teaching. The Nakshbandîs, who, as one of the most prominent Orders of the Sûfîs, were unorthodox Muhammadans, taught that a life could be purchased by the sacrifice of another life, and on occasion acted on this doctrine, which partly explains the legendary end of Lallâ herself. They also, with other Orders, forbade the erection of buildings over their graves, of which idea there is much evidence in Indian Muhammadan graveyards. They were staunch protectors of the defenceless and poor against oppression; an attitude which brought them into politics and persecution by Kings and Sultâns, as they strove to "give new life to the old idea that beside the secular king should stand a divinely-guided adviser, the keeper of his seal and his conscience, and the interpreter of the spirit, not merely of the letter, of the formal laws."

There were, too, among the Nakshbandîs exercises in the restraint of breathing, strongly reminiscent of the *yôga* exercises of the Hindu Shaivas. But it has been suggested that in origin these exercises are older than Hinduism or Islâm and that they are survivals of practices of primitive Aryans. But irrespective of such notions, the Nakshbandîs and the Sûfîs generally taught the doctrine of many lives for one individual soul, and that the soul after death returns to the world in a new body. To avoid this they held it to be necessary to make profound meditation on the Deity so perpetual and continuous as to absorb the mind even when in a crowd: "Keep the attention fixed on the heart, the eyes closed, the mouth firmly shut, the tongue pressed against the roof of the mouth, the teeth set tight against each other, and hold the breath; repeat the Creed, 'There is no God but God,' with great force, but with the heart and not with the tongue." The result will be freedom from the world and its attractions. All this is effective because the heart comprises the whole of a

man's existence within himself and is the compendium of mankind, great and small alike being but extensions of it. It is in humanity what the seed is which contains within itself the whole tree. In fine, the essence of the whole of "God's Book, the Korân," and of all His secrets is the heart of man, by which term the Sûfîs meant his mind.

The Sûfîs considered each human soul to be a divine emanation, which doctrine was a chief cause of their persecution by orthodox authorities. They represented themselves "as entirely devoted to the Truth, and as being incessantly occupied in the adoration of God,—a union with Whom they desired with all the ardour of a divine love. God is diffused over all His creatures, and exists everywhere and in everything." They compared the emanations of His divine essence and spirit to the rays of the sun, which they considered to be darted forth and reabsorbed. It was for this reabsorption into the Divine Essence, to which their immortal parts belonged, that they continually aspired. The Sûfîs also held that the ordinary state or condition of pious contemplation is "preserved in wakeful moments, when the soul and body are united and the senses of the latter are enfeebled by the superior power of the soul." There was, however,—they said,—another condition when the soul of man leaves the body and wanders about without regard to time and space,—the ancient animistic belief in the "wandering soul." And finally, for the present purpose, they taught complete submission to the spiritual Teacher.

Although Lallâ was a Shaiva Hindu and her turn of thought and feeling was distinctly that of her own religion, a perusal of the following pages will show that there is much in them of all this teaching of the Sûfîs, which is in fact almost Hindu Upanishadic idealism, and therefore on all fours with that which was taught to her, and which she so sedulously taught to others.

Numerous Hindu stories are current about Lallâ in Kashmîr, the general tendency of which is to make her and all the saints and holy personages connected with her, to be contemporaries and personal acquaintances of each other; but

none of these tales is deserving of literal credence. Among them the following may be quoted to show what is popularly believed about her. She is said to have been originally a married woman of a respectable family living at Pândrênthan near Srînagar, and to have been cruelly treated by her mother-in-law, who nearly starved her. To gather the force of this story there must be borne in mind the Hindu family custom of the bride going to live in the bridegroom's house, as one of the lesser women there, under the general control of the oldest married woman in it, usually the mother-in-law. Bullying by the mother-in-law is a common Hindu accusation accordingly, to which there is endless allusion in Hindu song, story and proverb. At any rate, Lallâ's story is preserved in a Kâshmîrî proverb: "Whether they killed a big sheep or a small one, Lal had always a stone to her dinner." This is an allusion to the statement that when she dined in the presence of other people, her mother-in-law used to put a lumpy stone on her platter and thinly cover it with rice, so that it looked quite a big heap. And still it is believed that she never murmured.

Lallâ used to wander about in rags and adopted a famous Kâshmîrî Shaiva saint, named Sed Bâyû, as her *guru* or spiritual preceptor. The result of his teaching was that she herself took on the status of a *yôginî* or mendicant devotee, and went about the country, singing and dancing in a half nude or even nude condition. When remonstrated with for such disregard for decency, she is said to have replied that they only were men who feared God, and that there were very few of such about. She is also said in several tales to have become a better scholar than her teacher, and to have often beaten him in retort and argument. Such stories are no doubt old folktales fastened on to her as a celebrity, for in a contest in riddles, Indian folktale fashion, recorded in the *Vâkyâni* to have taken place between her and Sed Bâyû, the dialogue shows that it is only a *réchauffée* of a Panjâbî, or perhaps North Indian, story fastened on Lallâ. Sed Bâyû appears to be a name for Sed (or Siddh) Shrî Kanth of the Nambalbal Mahalla (Quarter) of Pâmpûr, believed to have been de-

scended in the direct line of pupils from Vasugupta, the founder of modern Shaivism in Kashmîr, and to have still "a living descendant in the line of pupils" in the person of Pandit Mokand Râzdân at Srînagar.

The legend of Lallâ's end, as it is usually told, is that while she was still a naked devotee, Sayyid 'Alî Hamadânî arrived in Kashmîr, and one day she saw him in the distance. Crying out, "I have seen a man," she turned and fled. Seeing a baker's shop close by, she leaped into the blazing oven and disappeared, being apparently consumed to ashes. The saint followed her and enquired if any woman had come that way, but the baker's wife, out of fear, denied that she had seen any one. Sayyid 'Alî Hamadânî continued his search, and suddenly Lallâ appeared from the oven clad in the green garments of Paradise. The inference is that she never died and is still one of the "living saints" of Indian hagiolatry.

Another version of this tale is that it was Shêkh Nûru'ddîn who was the hero of the story of Lallâ's disappearance. In this case the story goes on: Not to be outdone in miracles, he, too, disappeared on the spot, and after much searching she found him between two platters in the form of a diamond. Here at any rate there is an echo of common Indian folklore, where the hero is a Hindu Kshatriya, named Jagaddêva, and the unclothed lady a dancing girl.

There are yet other variants of the tale. In one of them it is said that Lal Ded went about nude because "the Kâshmîrîs were not 'men,'" and so she had no reason to be ashamed. But when she saw Sayyid 'Alî Hamadânî, she recognised "a man" and forthwith wore clothes. In another it is said that her meeting with Sayyid 'Alî Hamadânî was at Khânpûr near Srînagar while in her nude condition, and the ensuing conversation turned the saint into a fast companion. So on the whole in these accounts we are face to face with some old folktale fastened on to Lallâ.

There seems, indeed, to be no doubt that this story is a folktale applied to the famous holy-woman, for yet another version of her end is that she died at Bijbihâra "just outside

the famous *masjid* (mosque) there, near its south-eastern corner. When she gave up her soul, it buoyed up like a flame of light in the air and then disappeared."

There are no authentic MSS. of Lallâ's compositions. Collections made by private individuals have occasionally been put together, but none is complete, and no two agree in contents or text. While there is thus a complete dearth of ordinary MSS., there are, on the other hand, sources from which an approximately correct text can be secured.

But the want of MSS. need not dismay us, because "the ancient Indian system," to quote Sir George Grierson's own words, "by which literature is recorded not on paper but on the memory, and carried down from generation to generation of teachers and pupils, is still in complete survival in Kashmîr. Such fleshly tables of the heart are often more trustworthy than birch-bark or paper manuscripts. The reciters, even when learned Pandits, take every care to deliver the messages word for word as they have received them, whether they understand them or not. In such cases we not infrequently come across words of which the meaning given is purely traditional or is even lost." A typical instance of this has occurred in the experience of Sir George Grierson. In the autumn of 1896 Sir Aurel Stein took down in writing from the mouth of a professional story-teller a collection of folk-tales which he subsequently made over to Sir George for editing and translating. "In the course of dictation, the narrator, according to custom, conscientiously reproduced words of which he did not know the sense. They were 'old words,' the signification of which had been lost, and which had been passed down to him through generations of *ustâds* or teachers. That they were no inventions of the moment, or corruptions of the speaker, is shown by the fact that not only were they recorded simultaneously by a well-known Kâshmîrî Pandit, who was equally ignorant of their meanings, and who accepted them without hesitation on the authority of the reciter," but that, long afterwards, at Sir George's request, Sir Aurel Stein got the man to repeat the passages in which the words occurred. They were repeated by him *verbatim*, *literatim*,

et punctatim, as they had been recited by him to Sir Aurel Stein fifteen years before.

"The present collection of verses was recorded under very similar conditions. In the year 1914 Sir George Grierson asked his friend and former assistant, Mahâmahôpâdhyâya Pandit Mukunda Râma Shâstrî, to obtain for him a good copy of the *Lallâ-vâkyâni*, as these verses of Lallâ's are commonly called by Pandits. After much search he was unable to find a satisfactory manuscript. But finally he came into touch with a very old Brâhman named Dharma-dâsa-Darvêsh, of the village of Gush, about thirty miles from Bâramûla and not far from the famous shrine of Shâradâ. Just as the professional story-teller mentioned above recited folktales, so he made it his business for the benefit of the piously disposed, to recite Lallâ's songs as he had received them by family tradition (*kula-paramparâchâra-krama*). The Mahâmahôpâdhyâya [great preceptor, Doctor], recorded the text from his dictation and added a commentary, partly in Hindî and partly in Sanskrit, all of which he forwarded to Sir George Grierson. These materials formed the basis of the present edition. It cannot claim to be founded on a collation of various manuscripts, but it can at least be said that it is an accurate reproduction of one recension of the songs, as they are current at the present day. As in the case of Sir Aurel Stein's folktales, this contains words and passages which the reciter did not profess to understand. He had every inducement to make the verses intelligible and any conjectural emendation would at once have been accepted on his authority. But, following the traditions of his calling, he had the honesty to refrain from this, and said simply that this was what he had received, and that he did not know its meaning. Such a record is in some respects more valuable than any written manuscript."

Nevertheless, in producing the text Sir George Grierson collated some other MSS., including Sanskrit translations, in the manner described in his edition of the *Lallâ-vâkyâni*. So that on the whole it can be said fairly that he did succeed in getting the actual text of what Lallâ left behind her. The *Lallâ-vâkyâni* were composed in an old form of Kâshmîrî, which, as a distinct language, is much older than her time; but it is not probable that we have them in the exact form in which she uttered them. The fact that they had been transmitted by word of mouth prohibits such a supposition. As the

language changed insensibly from generation to generation, so must the outward form of the verses have changed in recitation. But, nevertheless, respect for the authoress and the material form of the songs have preserved a great many archaic forms of expression. It is worth while pointing out here that the Vedic hymns were for centuries handed down by word of mouth, and that Lallâ's Sayings give a valuable example of the manner in which language must have changed from generation to generation before the text was finally established.

Passing on to the metres of Lallâ's Sayings, it may be mentioned that there are two distinct metrical systems in Kashmîr: one for formal works, such as epic poems and the like, and in this, Persian metres, with many irregularities and licences, are employed; the other usual in songs, like Lallâ's. In 1917 Sir Aurel Stein ascertained definitely that in Kâshmîrî songs the metre depended solely on the stress-accent. In Lallâ's verses four stresses go to each *pâda* or line, as follows:

ábhyösi savikás láye wothú
gáganas sagún myulu sámi tsratá
shű̃ñ gólu ta anámay motú
yúhuy wópadésh chuy batá

wákh manas kól-akol ná até
tshópi mudri áti ná pravésh
rózan shiwa-shékath ná até
mótuyey kű̄h ta súy wopadésh.

In rendering the Sayings in English verse Lallâ's metre, which, as it has come down to us in popular form, is rough and ready, has been followed as closely as may be, substituting five stresses for four in each line. Take the rendering of the above two verses:

whén by dísciplíne repeáted óft
áll the wíde is lífted tó the void
únivérse and éther mérge alóft
bráhman thís is dóctrine únallóyed.

when the vóid withín itsélf is sólved
  ánd ethéreálitý destróyed
ónly ís well-béing únresólved
  bráhman thís is dóctrine únallóyed.

whére the wéal is thére no thóught of mínd
  áction nór ináction máy intrúde
vóws of sílence éntry faíl to fínd
  nór aváils the mýstic áttitúde

thére nor éven shiva reígns supréme
  nór his wédded énergý hath swáy
ónly ís the sómewhat líke a dréam
  thére pursúing án elúsive wáy.

It will be observed that in this case two quatrains in the rendering have been necessary to explain the meaning of each of Lallâ's verses.

The above remarks, however, do not quite explain the verses of the rendering, as they will be found by the reader. Lallâ's metre as above shown is in fact very loose indeed. Her verses would make the hair of an orthodox Indian poet stand on end. She starts really with an Indian *dôhâ* as her basis, which is a purely quantitative verse, and then abandons quantity altogether and depends on stress-accent alone,—in this she does exactly what the early Christian monkish writers did with their Latin hymns. In this also she is very irregular, and her accentuated verse only follows the plan above explained in a general sense.

In rendering Lallâ's verse into English accentuated verse, I have tried to represent her in a rough metre in two ways: (1) by following her style as nearly as may be; (2) by some irregularity of metre. I have taken it to be more important to represent her meaning and her style than to achieve minute perfection in versification.

A word as to the representation of Oriental terms in English characters. Those readers who have no knowledge of Oriental languages need not trouble to try to pronounce the Oriental terms found in this book in the manner of the Eastern peoples, but they will get them fairly accurately if they will recollect

to pronounce every letter, the vowels as in Italian and the consonants as in English, especially as the length of the long vowels is indicated by the circumflex ^. It is also well to treat *th* as *t* and *ph* as *p*. If readers desire to place the stress on the correct syllables they should consult Oriental scholars. In the Glossary some diacritical marks are used so that scholars may recognise the words as they would appear in the vernacular scripts concerned.

Readers should, however, understand that Sanskrit, the Oriental language chiefly used in this book, is pronounced by the natives of modern India dialectically. That is to say, the pronunciation, especially of certain characters, is not the same everywhere. This fact creates a difficulty in writing it in English, or indeed in any European script., *e.g.*, the character usually transliterated in English by *sh* is in the North almost invariably pronounced *kh*: that written *v* is pronounced either as *b* or *w*: and final *a* is dropped. So that, to take an extreme case, what is usually written in English as *vishaya* is pronounced in a large part of India as *bikhay*. Scholars have got over the difficulty by adopting *s* with a diacritical mark, *ṣ*. There is another character also written *s* with a diacritical mark, *ś*, which is usually pronounced like English *sh*, or with a sound near it. There is also, of course, an ordinary *s*. So that we get scientifically *s*, *ś*, *ṣ*: many writers also use *ç* for *ś*. But I do not wish to worry the reader with technicalities like these, and have adopted *sh* and *s* only, and write *vishaya*, Shiva, etc., as being suited to a book for the English reader about Kâshmîrî literature. I only make this note to let the reader know what the situation is.

I have adopted a similar plan in other difficult cases. But in one instance I have given way to scholars. There is a ligature, long written in English script as *jñ*, by way of truly transliterating the Sanskrit form. But *jñ* is unfortunately unpronounceable even by native Indians, at any rate when initial as it not unfrequently is, and its pronunciation consequently suffers from much dialectic variation. It is usually pronounced *gy* in the North, as *dny* in the West, as *ny* in the South, and *dy* in some localities. In Kashmîr it is *gy*.

Again unfortunately it occurs in some common words, as *jñâna*, knowledge. So I have compromised in this work, and have put both *gy* and *jñ* wherever the character occurs, and have written *gyâna* (*jñâña*): *vigyâna* (*vijñâna*).

It is really impossible to satisfy both the scholarly purist and the general reader in the matter of representing Sanskrit, and indeed any Oriental, words in English script, and in writing them in this book I have largely followed the plan of the Government of India when faced with the same difficulties.

PART I

THE SOURCES OF LALLÂ'S RELIGION

THE SOURCES OF LALLÂ'S RELIGION

THAT portion of the Indian population, which for many centuries has been known by the generic term Hindus, follows forms of Religion and Ethics, on the face of them, entirely at variance with those adopted by the peoples to the Westward. These forms are capable, nevertheless, of being grasped with understanding by the Western nations, because they are ultimately sprung from the same original source and habit of mind, evolved so long ago as to have become a mental instinct. It should be easier for this reason for an untutored European to follow the working of the Indian mind than for, say, an untutored Chinaman or Japanese with an alien ultimate source of mental evolution and so of mental instinct. I hope to be able to explain this seeming paradox, and I put it in the forefront of this thesis on account of its bearing on the subject of this book. Broadly, I would put the position this way. The basis of thought in Hindu India, in Western Asia and in Europe is the same, but the philosophy in India has for so long followed such a different line of reasoning that the separation between it and that of the West has in the ages become so great as to make the two appear to differ fundamentally. Indeed, peering into time past as far as is now permissible, one finds oneself standing as it were on a Great Divide, where the streams at one's feet flow eventually into widely separated oceans, to gather to themselves, in their long courses thereto, other streams gaining their character from other catchment areas.

And this consideration induces me to take note of another fundamental point of observation, which I have had reason to bring into argument when examining such different lines of evolution as those of Currency and Language. Nothing can ever develop on one principle alone. Every development is subject to environment and to the accretions and assimilations resulting in the course of time from contact with other lines of evolution. Any Currency or Language, therefore, as we can now observe it, is the sum of one main principle and of the modifications brought about by every other principle

with which it has come in contact in the course of æons of development. The Religion and Ethics of every people, now or at any time past dwelling on the earth, have been subjected to this Law of Evolution. So the original people, whom for the present purpose we may call the Aryans,—when many centuries ago they stood upon the Great Divide and one party remained in Europe and other parties went into Western Asia and Persia and further onwards, crossing the frontier mountains into India, while yet others went further west into Europe,—carried with them the basic habit of mind they had acquired in their original habitat, and developed it independently according to their several separate environments. The point here is, therefore, that the evolution has in each case proceeded, as it were, along one main line or even instinct of thought or philosophy, which has been modified in the lapse of time by accretions absorbed from surrounding mentalities.

Keeping ever before us, then, that there was an original Aryan trend of mind, that it developed itself independently in the several great peoples into which the original Aryans subsequently became divided, and that it was profoundly modified in varying directions by the trend of mind of the peoples among which it was thrown, I propose to tackle the problem of the evolution thereof as observable in India. It will be seen that I have treated the Hindus and Hinduism as an Aryan development. Later on I propose to show that this is a fact, though Hinduism has spread among large populations in India which are not of Aryan origin. It, however, long ago so overshadowed their previous forms of faith that these could not do more than modify its otherwise complete domination over their minds.

The outstanding fact about the Aryan religious instinct is that its trend is theistic as opposed to the atheistic trend of the mental instinct of the Asiatic peoples further to the East, which accounts incidentally for the success there of Buddhism as an atheistic form of Aryan philosophy and its comparatively short life in India itself.

It is not now possible to visualise the Religion that had

its growth in the Aryan mind before the people became split up by a series of migrations and subdivisions, otherwise than by inferences drawn from the modifications adopted by its various descendants. Broadly, we can thus infer from the earliest known forms of these modifications that the original Aryans, like all other primitive human beings, were Animists, believers in spirits, attributing in their philosophy supernatural powers to an invisible individual spirit (that which breathes or lives) overseeing every observable object, tangible or intangible. But by the period of the migratory division, which induced a portion of them to go over the mountains into Northern and North-western India, the idea of the overseeing spirit had included in its purview the deceased forebears of the race, the Fathers, who, as elsewhere, were conceived as powerful spirits controlling the family welfare. And so their general Animism consisted of a combination of the individual spirits controlling observable objects and of ancestral spirits controlling the lives of their descendants: a mental condition that involves the first conception of the immortality of that which can think, the soul.

These first efforts at explaining the several aspects of life on the Earth were followed by the creation of divinities representing the more prominent natural phenomena, called simply by their proper names,—Sky, Sun, Moon, Dawn, Wind, Fire, Thunder, Death and Strong-drink. These were the gods, at first unpersonified, the idea being evolved before the people became divided up. Historically it is the ritual subsequently connected with the God of Strong Drink (Sôma of the Aryans of India and Haoma of the Airyans of Persia) that links up the first pre-migration and post-migration cults. The indeterminate nature of the gods of the old Aryans is shown in the opposing senses that the words indicating them came to be used by their descendants after separation. Thus we have *ahura* in a good sense in Persia corresponding with *asura* in a bad sense in India: and conversely *daeva* in a bad sense corresponding with *dêva* in a good sense. And yet the erection of the sun into a divinity brought about in time great results after the Aryan migration, for its worship or

adoration as the principal deity made possible, by a natural Aryan development, the monotheistic conception, both in India and Persia, of the Adorable, the great One God, under many names and epithets.

Concurrently with the idea of divinity ran a notion, which is everywhere still observable where human beings are as yet "unadvanced"; the mysterious supernatural beings were held to be able to help or harm the living. There are two incompatible ways of securing assistance or averting evil in such circumstances. The spirits must be induced or compelled to assist or to desist from evil, and what is still better in primitive philosophy, they may be partly induced and partly compelled. In obedience to the general natural Law of Evolution the original Aryans followed the first principle mainly, *viz.*, inducement by prayer and sacrifice, and secondarily added to these devices compulsion by simple Occultism. All the devices are exhibited in their clearest and most obvious form: prayer by way of hymns; sacrifice by laying out of food and drink for the gods, or offering them in the smoke of the altar; compulsion by the use of charmed words and acts.

Both propitiation and compulsion imply the existence of persons skilled in the requisite method, and those among the Aryans were, as everywhere else among primitive people, persons of importance, though not of necessity professionals or priests. The duties of such officials in widely separated branches of the primitive stock show that the existence of the priestly office, and therefore of the ideas involved in it, go back to the days before separation and migration.

So far as regards the ancestral spirits, the duty of propitiation and compulsion devolved on the father of the family, who became something more than its head; for he was thus the family priest, in whom was vested the reverence due to the controller of the family ritual for its dead. This knowledge of the all-essential rites he passed on to his son. Hence the absolute power he possessed over all the members of the family, the importance of sons not only to himself but to the whole family, the comparative unimportance of women, and many other things, which have not only never quite

died down in the inheritors of the Aryan period, but have in some instances become accentuated: such as the feeling of the divinity of the family, the value of its unity and of pride in it, and the necessity for marriage with the attendant conception of chastity as opposed to concubinage or promiscuity. The smaller value set on daughters as compared with sons led to female infanticide by exposure, a custom incidental to all primitive people adopting the "patriarchal" system. The power and supremacy of the father among the ancient Greeks, Latins, Teutons, Slavs and other populations in Europe, and among the ancient invaders of Persia and India, show that the Patriarchate was an inheritance dating back to the days before the great migrations of the Aryans.

The point then for absorption here is that the religious instinct of the Aryan mind became theistic and the ethical instinct patriarchal, with all that is involved in such an inheritance, in reference to subsequent evolution, wherever its heirs spread themselves.

There are three supplementary matters that belong to ritual rather than to philosophy, though no doubt there was a philosophy behind or attached to each, which are referable to pre-migration days and afterwards became very prominent: the disposal of the dead, the attitude towards the cow, and the worship of fire. Both the early Persian and Indian Aryans venerated the cow as the chief producer of food, the latter ultimately carrying veneration to an extreme point. The early Persian Aryans, as their successors the Parsis of India still do, exposed the dead on grids to be devoured by birds, dead animals left on the ground being also naturally devoured by other animals. The reason, *i.e.*, the philosophy behind the custom, was the sacredness of the Earth, the Mother, which must not be polluted by the burial of a corrupting body within her. The early Indian Aryans both buried and burnt their dead, as indeed many Hindus, even in ascetic communities, still do. The vast majority, however, burn their dead, and the primitive unconscious philosophy behind the practice may have been the desire not to pollute the Mother Earth, all pollution being dissipated in the smoke of the

funeral pyre[1]. Fire-worship, common to both the Persian and Indian branches of the Aryans, was made by the former a chief article of religious practice. It is as natural to a people that has progressed so far as to set up gods, to deify Fire as to deify the Sun, the Earth, or any other principal phenomenon of Nature, because in all primitive societies it is difficult to make or preserve the fire of daily use. The household and especially the sacrificial fire always required guarding, and amongst the Andamanese, the most primitive people now living, who cannot make fire, though they cook nearly all their food, liking it hot, and can only procure fire by chance or borrowing, the only thing their irresponsible childish natures will permit them to guard or take care of is the household fire. There must have been something of the same feeling towards the fire amongst the primitive Aryans, because the Persian form of Aryan ritual began by the sacrifice of animals to the gods before altars tended by fire-kindling priests (*âthravan*, the precursors of the Magi), and historically this led to the worship of the sacrificial flame itself.

The phase of the Aryan migration, with which we are primarily concerned, is that which overflowed into the Persian Highlands and beyond them into the country since represented by the Panjâb, eventually splitting into two branches, the Airya occupying Airyâna, *i.e.*, Îrân or Persia, and the Ârya occupying Âryâvarta (the home of the Âryas), or the Madhyadêsha[2] (midlands), which was ages afterwards termed by Muhammadan invaders Hindûstân, the land of

[1] It may have been, however, to convey the body in a sublimated form to the gods. That is, at any rate, expressly said in the *Rigvêda* to be the reason for offering sacrifice in the fire.

[2] It has been already explained at the end of the Introduction that two separate characters in the Dêvanâgarî script, in which Sanskrit is usually conveyed, are both written *sh* in this work. The words Shiva, Shaiva, Madhyadêsha, and many others, are written with the first of them, and Vishnu, Vaishnava, and others, with the second. The Dêvanâgarî script does not recognise *z*.

The other script also commonly used for conveying Indian Aryan terms is that form of Persian script used for writing Hindûstânî. This recognises three forms of *s* and also *sh*: and it has in addition four forms of *z* and one *zh* (French *j*). In practical Indian speech they resolve themselves into *s*, *sh*, and *z*: *zh* being rare. I have accordingly used only *s*, *sh*, *z*, whatever forms the Indian script may have adopted.

the Hindus. The very names given to themselves by the two divisions of the Aryan wanderers exhibits their common origin and incidentally, what is of such importance to the present argument, their common mentality. This last fact shows up clearly in the earlier stages of the development of each, so far as this is now discernible. But owing to the nature of the country separating the two parties and the difficulty of communication when once parted, independent development necessarily took place. However, the likeness of the faith and ethics on both sides at first observable is obviously due to a close alliance, and there is much that is actually identical in thought and reasoning.

By the time of this separation a considerable advance in philosophy had been made, for the divinities representing natural phenomena had become personified, with definite names and functions attaching to each. Theology had progressed and the gods had come to be conceived as expressing themselves through the phenomena of Nature. The general progress extended also to the ritual, which had become more elaborate, with special hymns and prayers belonging to stated acts, calling for definite functions on the part of the priests and involving the use of special names for them. Further, early in the development, the Ritual of the public sacrifices and the form of the hymns show the birth and growth of the idea of a supreme divinity in the elevation of one or other of the Nature Gods at a time to that position, leading naturally to the conception of a Supreme God endowed with the highest cosmical and divine functions above and behind all the gods, superior and inferior. The subsequent development of the idea that the attribute of the Supreme was righteousness is seen in the character ascribed to the Zoroastrian Ahuramazda of the Iranians of Persia and to the Varuna of the Vedic Aryans of India. Taking all this and much more as common to the primitive Iranian and Indian Aryans, there arose, however, a distinct parting of the ways, both intellectually and morally, dating as far back as the migrations eastwards and westwards themselves. Both found the land of their adoption occupied by alien races of equal and even

superior civilization, and both undoubtedly were profoundly affected by this situation. The mode of advance politically was identical both in Îrân and India, which is to say that the migrants were always at bottom true to their ancient instinct.

Left to itself amidst its special surroundings, the philosophy of the Indian branch created a mystic pantheism and an absorption of Man in God, in reference to which the substantial world was held to be as nothing. By complete contrast, the Iranian philosophy, also owing to its special surroundings, controlled practical life by moral commandments. The difference had so overwhelming an effect on the two subsequent developments as to make it fundamental. According to an old observation, the Iranian (Zoroastrian) pantheism thus became positive, "affirming the world and life, taking joy in them and seeking its ideal in common with a creative God," in contradistinction to the Indian (Brahmanist) pantheism, which became negative, "denying world and life and descrying its ideal in the cessation of existence." But though neither ever lost its instinct,—the basic conception of a supreme lord, behind the gods and divinities, creating a fixed definite law, both physical and moral, to be obeyed perforce by all living creatures,—both became dominated eventually by sacerdotal ritualism. This was partly their own inheritance and was partly absorbed, as we may safely suspect, from the aliens among whom their respective lots were cast. They were provided with an inexhaustible stock of formulae for prayer and magical protection against evil—alike for propitiating and compelling the unseen powers that were held to govern man and his wants. So much was this the case that again and again both became ripe for rebellion from within and reformation from without against sacerdotal ascendancy. It should not be impossible or even difficult for an European, with his own long inherited instinct, to grasp the working of the minds that produced such a situation.

Fighting their way among the people they found already established, and colonising as they passed slowly along, the Aryans became an intelligent military and pastoral-agricultural

body, consisting of tribes, under chiefs, who on occasion fought among themselves, but always earnestly followed their common and still primitive religion. This was as yet only rudimentary Hinduism, for on occasion they ate meat and drank intoxicants—a point to be borne in mind in considering that subsequent development, in consequence of which both became canonically forbidden. Their inherited religious practice was open-air sacrifice, privately by the household, and publicly without temples or images, and at their public sacrifices they sang and recited hymns and directions for ritual, also inherited from pre-migration days, and handed down by priestly families with the verbal accuracy which is everywhere characteristic of ritual preserved by word of mouth from generation to generation. The text of the *Lallâ-vâkyâni* itself is one among many witnesses of this phenomenon of the human mind.

The social system steadily progressed. The tribes became divided into three classes—warriors, priests and agriculturists —to which after a while was added a fourth class, made up of conquered slaves, native servants and aborigines, all outside the Aryan stock. The influence of the priests (*brâhman*) constantly tended to increase, owing to superstition and the need of supernatural assistance in their daily aims felt by the tribal chiefs, until it overwhelmed the rest. They, too, were organised in three orders—sacrificer, singer and performer of ritual, and there were family schools for their education. It was this professional education for a set purpose that led to that social predominance of the Brâhmâns which has lasted to the present day. Collections of the old hymns, believed by degrees to be revelations to inspired singers, were committed to memory by the Brâhman families and then by general priestly schools, and formed the *Rigvêda* (Science of Praise). A late hymn thereof assigns a separate divine origin to each of the categories of the Aryan invaders and those dependent on them, or closely connected with them, both within and without the tribal fold. To each of the divisions of this social organisation, held to be under divine sanction, was in

time dedicated a *Vêda* or Religious Science, and thus were formed the Four *Vêdas*, viz., the *Rigvêda* (Science of Praise), the *Sâmavêda* (Science of Chants), the *Yajurvêda* (Science of Ritual) and the *Atharvavêda* (Science of Incantations).

The Aryan immigrants into India imposed themselves on the population they found there in exactly the same way through all time, more by the activities of the priest than by the exertions of the warrior, more by absorption than by conquest. This method of obtaining command was so slow that their ultimate supremacy synchronised with the development of themselves, and by the time they had obtained social control, they had become the Hindus, a people far removed from their ancestors to the westward, regarding themselves as the natives, the inhabitants of the soil. Beyond the warriors marched the priests, turning the gods they found already existing into representatives of the Aryan theocracy, and assimilating the practices of the alien faiths, while teaching their own. This is the crucial point in the rise of the old priestly Brahmanic religion that thus sprang up. It was a blend of especially developed aboriginal ideas deriving from lands North and West of India with those of aboriginal India itself. Indeed, it can hardly be too clearly appreciated that every part of India and every section of its population has had a hand, in addition to many peoples outside, in the development of Hinduism as known to the authoress of the *Lallâ-vâkyâni*.

The progress of the priest furthered that feeling of the family and class exclusiveness which subsequently became caste, and originally arose out of a natural unwillingness on the part of immigrant Aryans to mix with the aborigines, and the professional desire of the priestly families to mix with each other only. But once the above mentioned idea of the divine origin of each separate community and mode of life had taken root, it developed comparatively quickly, as new tribes were taken into the fold, new occupations arose, and the difficulty of communication with their distant congeners made them strangers to each other. All this necessitated the

creation of new castes and new sub-divisions of castes, each living alone in a certain social isolation, until Hindu India became an agglomerate of small local societies, at the head of which the Brâhman everywhere managed to remain in his own infinite divisions. This individual isolation of Hindu communities following a common form of religion has become a leading characteristic of the people, always to be borne in mind in studying them, and any modification of their faith when taken into special consideration.

The supremacy of the priest hinged upon the elaboration of sacrifice, ritual and occultism. The layman had to become dependent on him, so the priest became in time as important in daily life as the gods themselves. Alongside this exaltation of the priest, there hardened the principle of the holy man, the hermit, the ascetic idler, who did nothing and hurt nothing, and by sheer austerity of a life of meditation, as a substitute for sacrifice, aimed at the power of compelling the gods to admit him to the higher, the heavenly life, and the consequent powers over the lives of men. The idea of a supreme Divinity over the ordinary gods became crystallised, and out of the ruck of the ancient gods two came into chief prominence in the popular philosophy as the representatives of the Supreme,—Shiva of the great snow mountains, the Himâlayas, and Vishnu of the Sun and the Sacrifice; representatives in fact of the two most prominent external factors controlling human life,—the Cold and the Heat. The followers of these two gods became eventually organised in the two great divisions of the Hindus, the Shaivas and the Vaishnavas[1].

[1] In order to make clear certain unavoidable Sanskrit terms which will be found in these pages, it is advisable to explain that there is a principle in the formation of languages, which is known as intromutation, whereby connected words are differentiated from each other by an *internal* change. It is a main principle in Arabic, thus: *hamd, hamada, hâmid, hamîd, ahmad, mahmûd, muhammad*, all turning on some application of the idea of "praise" (*hamd*). It is present in English, thus: hold, held; man, men; woman, women; grow, grew. It is also present in Sanskrit in the formation of adjectives and other derivatives out of nouns. In such cases *a* becomes *â*, *i* becomes *ai*, *u* becomes *au*, a vocalic *r* usually written *ri* (as in Sanskrit, Prâkrit) becomes *âr*. So we get such pairs of words in this text as: Brahman, Brâhman; Bharata, Bhârata; bhakti, Bhâkta; shakti, Shâkta; Bhagavat, Bhâgavata; Manu, Mânava; pancha, Pâncharâtra; Pashupati, Pâshupata; Prakriti, Prâkrita; Tantra, Tântra; Vishnu, Vaishnava; Shiva, Shaiva; Jina, Jaina; vishêsha, Vaishêshika; Buddha, Bauddha; shruti, Shrauta; Sûrya, Saura; Smriti, Smârta; Krishna, Kârshna.

The education of the priest produced Schools of Philosophy, and the Schools in their turn produced men learned in the sciences (*vêdas*), by whom necessarily all religious teaching was handed down in most carefully preserved oral tradition by means of mnemonic phrases (*sûtra*, thread) with commentaries thereon. The use of the *Sûtras*, which have been described as "tabloids of condensed knowledge," brought about the mental habit of ticking them off in the mind for memorising, which was extended to everything that had to be carried in the head, producing the strongly marked Indian scholastic custom, still in full force, of arranging all matter to be taught in classified groups, numbered and labelled: the eighty-four *lâkhs* (100,000 and also any very large figure) of (atomic) lives, the Four Truths, the Five Organs, the Six Paths, and so on *ad infinitum*. The trouble for the outside student is that the Schools constantly spoke of the Eighty-four, the Four, the Five, the Six, and so on, assuming that the hearer would know the reference. The *Sûtras* themselves were subjected to this systematisation and were grouped in the Six *Vêdângas* (auxiliaries, members of the body of the Vêda), which comprised the whole of the priest's education. The sciences were essentially religious, the main exception being Grammar, necessary to explain the meaning of traditional religious phrases and forms, as it became lost in the natural and inevitable changes of sense given to obsolete terms in the current speech from one generation to another. Other exceptions were the versified productions of schools of law and politics (*shâstra*, instrument for teaching, treatise), containing, however, very much that was religious and sacred. In all this we see the foundation of that structure, which is known as Hinduism in its many successive phases.

All special education in close societies is apt to become over-elaborated, and this was the case early in the Brâhman Schools in two crucial instances. Firstly, the exigencies of

singing and chanting induced the addition of interpolated meaningless syllables to the actual words of the songs and chants, as has happened everywhere in the world. The hymns being sacred, these syllables, like the tunes and metres, acquired a sacred status also, and were known as "praises" (*stôbha*). Eventually, owing to being essentially unintelligible and therefore mysterious, they became individually even more sacred than the words of the intelligible text. There were many of them, but one, which Europeans now generally transliterate as *ôm*[1], became the ever-unobstructed sound, the spell of spells, and so ineffably holy that its mere repetition summed up the efficacy of all religious ritual. Thus was started a theory that led to much practice in Hinduism later,—the sacredness of the mere sound of sacred words. Secondly, it became the custom early in India, as elsewhere in the primitive world, for the priest to mutter to himself during the ritual of the sacrifices, by way of incantation and dedication. Thus was created a body of formulae of incantation, which became for all subsequent time sacred utterances of supernatural significance, and finally charms, or expressions of magic power, under the name of *mantra* (sacred speech, word or words of adoration) as distinguished from the *Brâhmana*, or formal professional explanations of the Texts by the ancient Brâhmans.

A third, though minor, point is visible even at this early date which has lasted through all story in India and even elsewhere, and is undoubtedly connected with the sacred nature of the mysterious syllable and incantatory phrase,—the relation of the stock riddle, together with the charmed power of the crushing reply to the posing question.

The Brahmanic schools multiplied and specialised. They

[1] Nasalised vowels are very common in all Indian languages and have been a puzzle to transliterators, who have written them as *ng*, both *n* and *m* with a diacritical mark, and with ~ superimposed. The usual way at present is to use *m* with or without a mark, whence *ôm*, which is often, but not always, a nasalised *ô*, and then not at all like the sound of the English *ôm*. In writing other nasalised words I have usually used *n* to represent the nasalised vowel. It is present in the name of Lord Sinha, which does not to an Indian sound in the least like "Sinner."

began to philosophise. The doctrines they set up were based on the Aryan mental instinct of the Godhead, and were dominated by contact with the ideas of totemistic aborigines believing man's spirit-soul to be a separate entity, able to leave the body in life at will, and after death to live in other animal bodies and even in inanimate things thought to be capable of harbouring a soul. The idea of the repetition of death and re-birth for ever as the fate of mankind led eventually to the seeking after release from such a prospect. This was found in a line of thought that revolutionised the religious outlook and permeated the philosophy of the people ever afterwards. The general argument ran thus: this world is an illusion (*Mâyâ*); the one reality is the Absolute (*Brahman*), unchanging, inert, unknowable. The varying fortunes, characteristics and experiences of individual human beings were explained by the transmigration and re-incarnation of personal souls expiating the action (*Karma*) of former lives, with a final release at last by re-absorption into the universal soul, of which they were held to be but emanations. So the merit of actionless, introspective, ascetic life in this world became the passport to release from re-birth. The necessity for oft-recurring re-birth before sufficient merit can be accumulated to obtain release led to the idea of the cyclic destruction and re-creation of the whole earth. Out of this grew the conception of the Four Ages, of which the present is of course the fourth. And through it all the Brâhman priest was the divine interpreter to the rest of the Indo-Aryans, initiating them into Hinduism and all its rights by an act of spiritual birth of which the devotional threads over the left shoulder are to this day the outward sign, whence all representatives of the three original Aryan orders of society are "twice-born." The initiation in the case of girls, for whom no education was provided, was represented by marriage, and this interpretation of marriage led to ideas which have affected Hindu ethics for ages. Girls were married, that is initiated, while very young, before puberty, a custom which brought about child-marriage of both sexes; and only childless widows could re-marry, that is, undergo true initiation, though

later on even this was prohibited in the case of the orthodox.

Incidentally the doctrine of transmigration thus immensely strengthened the doctrines of the immortality of the soul and of caste, which grew into a rigid system among the three main twice-born orders—Brâhmans or priests, Kshatriyas or warriors, Vaishyas or agricultural traders, and also among the fourth order of Shûdras or menials, who were within the fold of caste. And there were further always those without the fold, the Outcastes or aborigines, necessarily a very large body, among whom to this day is to be studied the fundamental Animism, the Spirit- or Devil-worship of India.

Another trend of thought, subsequently all-important, arose in these early times. The Brâhmans taught everywhere that as the God behind the gods, the Absolute, was unknowable, the worship of the gods could go on unchanged, and this enabled them to gather all and sundry of the non-Aryans into their religious fold by finding places in their subordinate pantheon for all the objects of aboriginal or extraneous worship. This convenient and withal most effective missionary procedure, however, reacted on themselves, for they in their turn imbibed the old aboriginal animistic symbolism of the holy place, with its appropriate image or symbol dwelling therein, and of the wise attendant thereof ministering to the needs of both. Hence were introduced among the Aryan Hindus the image or idol as the concrete representation of a god, the temple or shrine, not necessarily immovable, to house it, the ritual to be performed around it and the ministrant Brâhman to attend it. Such Brâhmans have always held a lower status than the Brâhman followers and teachers of philosophy, and in their service have followed a ceremonial cult not traceable to an Aryan origin.

The outcome of all this evolutionary effort was that the *Vêdas* or sciences of religion, and their attendant *Brâhmanas* or revealed oral explanations, together with the teachings and philosophies of the ancient schools, also originally handed down orally in allegorical and philosophic extensions of the

Brâhmanas, known respectively as *Âranyakas* (forest teaching) and *Upanishads* (secret doctrine), formed the Hindu Canon of Revelation (*Shruti*). There has survived also a large body of other sacred productions of lesser authority, which comprised generally the Tradition (*Smriti*). The *Brâhmanas*, though requiring an infinite patience on the part of the student, are of the first consequence, as they contain the all-important Hindu doctrine of the rules of conduct (*dharma*) and the beginning of all subsequent philosophy and valuable learning; notably the theory of the Self (*Âtman*), as distinguished from and even identical with the Absolute (*Brahman*)[1].

The doctrine of the essential identity of the Self and the Absolute (*Brahman-Âtman*) having become dogma, that is authoritative, created a new order of ascetics, who threw up everything in social life so that they might contemplate it and spread its supreme significance to mankind. They wandered about without possessions or obligations of any kind, and gave up the old sacrificial worship, together with its ritual and ethics, altogether. They bore in time many names, and that of *sannyâsî* (renouncer) is one that has remained to them still. They were the precursors of all the various descriptions of devotees that followed them. Their important characteristic was that they were obsessed with the overwhelming necessity of release from the trammels of this life, so that the Self might attain its legitimate end of absorption into the Absolute, and thus reach to the one goal

[1] In the course of this exposition the use of certain Indian terms, which are much alike in appearance and sound, but different in sense, is unfortunately unavoidable. It will be convenient to express them in the usually accepted forms. They are Brahman, Brâhman, *Brâhmana*, Brahmâ, and Brâhma. Brahman is the universal essence in all things, metaphorically religious truth: in the philosophies the Absolute. Brâhman is a priest, a member of the priestly caste. *Brâhmana* is a lecture by a Brâhman: in the philosophies a revealed Scripture containing the orthodox explanation of a *Vêda* (revealed religious science). Brahmâ is the name of a god: in the theistic philosophies identified with the Creator, and also with the Absolute, the Supreme God. Brâhma is an adjective, belonging to the Brâhmans. Brâhmaism is used by Europeans to denote the older form of Hinduism. For further and more complete definitions see the Glossary.

worth striving for—peace in immortality. To think of anything else, or to observe it, or regard it, was to follow an illusion. This is the doctrine they have inculcated far and wide through the ages with the assistance of the Brâhmans themselves and the willing assent of the cultured laity.

Aspirations of any kind, however, demand effort for their fulfilment, and effort demands means which have to be sought for. The Brahmanic Schools took up the teaching of the new philosophy thus popularised. They kept it to themselves, precisely as they had kept the *Vêdas*, and filled the *Upanishads* with it. They taught definitely that the human Self goes beyond being part of the divine Self, and is actually the Self combined with the Absolute (*Brahman-Âtman*)—"I am It," "It is I," and that the realisation of this as Truth effects Release (*Môksha*). That is the conception which turns this world and all that pertains to it into Illusion, and therefore the one thing of consequence for a denizen of this world is to obtain bliss and eternal peace by the realisation of the one essential Truth.

The Brâhmans, like all the world, were hampered with the past of their religious teaching. The new had to be connected with the old, and therefore saturated with it. This was helped by the rise of Shiva and Vishnu as embodiments of the Supreme, and so they each easily came to represent the Self and the Absolute. There now arose two conceptions of transcendent moment later on. Shiva and Vishnu, and even the Supreme, came to be looked on as Îshvara, the Lord, the personal God, and feeling towards Him began to take the form of devotional faith (*bhakti*). The whole philosophy greatly strengthened the doctrine of Illusion, because by making the material world illusory, it became possible to conceive the personal Îshvara both as the All (*Brahman*) and the One (*Âtman*).

Then the old-established habit of austerity fathered self-discipline as the practical means of attaining the realisation of the Truth of the unity of the Self and the Absolute. By bodily and mental discipline (*yôga*) it was held to be possible to attain the desired ends—an etherealised body and knowledge of the world beyond. To apprehend the unknowable by an effort of mind, the soul must be brought to a state of perfect rest by prescribed methods and exercises of restraint and concentration of thought. This created the doctrine of Yôga (yoke or restraint) and the philosophy based thereon.

Besides the philosophies of the early times, there developed in India, as everywhere else, the minstrel who repeated versified epics to the people. Of these epics there are two that have come down to the later times: Firstly, Vâlmîki's *Râmâyana* (Adventures of Râma, popularly Râm), which related the story of a purely human hero of Kôsala (Oudh), who has since become a representative of the Godhead itself, through an immense philosophic extension of the original poem. Secondly, the *Mahâbhârata*, which originally related the story of the Great War of the Bharata tribe of Northern India in the ancient heroic way, but was made to serve as the encyclopedia of all knowledge—religious, philosophical, political and legal—by the priests of the Vaishnavas, one of the two great divisions of the later, though still early, Hindus. The Vaishnavas also took possession of the *Râmâyana* for sectarian purposes. In the *Mahâbhârata* appears Krishna, another human hero afterwards identified with the Godhead by the Vaishnavas. It is in the Epics and in some of the *Sûtras* (highly abbreviated manuals of philosophic science) that the worship of the gods through images and temples is first met with. When the Shaiva and Vaishnava sects, on their definite organisation, began to develop this worship, they were looked on as unorthodox, a taint they have never quite outlived among cultured Hindus.

From the first, philosophies, each with its attendant cosmogony, multiplied apace, and there were many systems of metaphysics—theistic, atheistic and definitively materialist—which have gradually become focussed in outstanding Schools. And out of the clash of these philosophies there developed a practice, which has re-appeared time and again in India. Some of the oldest, as the Vêdânta (end or final aim of the Vêda), confined instruction to the three twice-born Orders. Others, as the Sânkhya (intellectual contemplation, systematic

enumeration), freely admitted the fourth Order (Shûdras); while anyone, even an Outcaste, could become a *yôgî* or *yôginî*, *i.e.*, a male or female follower of the Yôga—terms widely known to the populace in the forms of *jôgî*, *jôgan* and *Jôg*. But while various Schools were fighting for control of the public mind, there were founded two, which threatened at one time to oust Brahmanism from its pride of place. The whole social fabric being in the hands of the Brâhman schoolmen, the effect of this supremacy was to produce arid, unpractical doctrines, outside ordinary everyday experience, and an intolerable sacerdotal arrogance, and so sturdy opponents arose, as it were, naturally. Among these there stand out two whose work has survived ever since and has profoundly affected Hindu philosophy through all the ages. The influence of the one has been confined to India itself, but that of the other has survived almost entirely outside it, owing originally to the work of the great Imperial enthusiast Ashôka in the third century B.C., though others afterwards spread it over Asia in a debased form. These mighty opponents of the ancient Brâhmans were contemporaries: Mahâvîra, the Jina (winner) who founded Jainism, and Siddhârtha Gautama, the Buddha (knower), who founded Buddhism. Both belonged to the educated upper classes that were not Brâhmans, and it is because we are able to date their deaths with sufficient certainty as taking place respectively in 527 and 488 B.C., that the undated history of India may be said to come to an end. The Brâhmans had carried on their religious services and teaching in Sanskrit (cultured Aryan speech), which was not understood by the people, who spoke one or other of the Prâkrits (vulgar Aryan tongues), or another language altogether. So both the Jains and the Buddhists taught in current Aryan dialects of the day, which however in turn long afterwards became sacerdotally fixed and as unintelligible to the people as Sanskrit itself. Their teachings are phases of the old Indian philosophies, and constituted Reformations of the ancient Brahmanism. The prominent points in the Jain philosophy, based on an atomic theory of matter common to several ancient Hindu philosophies, are the extreme

sanctity of life, the endowment of everything observable with a living soul, and the severest ascetic simplicity of social life, even to the extent of being entirely nude (sky-clad, as the euphemistic epithet runs). It has been the power of the high morality of the Jains that has kept Jainism always alive, and made it a force amongst the thinking and educated, even in times of general moral decadence. The Buddhists, in philosophic contrast, built up their theory of life without a soul in the sense of an immortal spirit, and thought that Release was attainable by a mildly ascetic rectitude of life, shunning all extremes—the doctrine of the golden mean. In their case, as indeed in that of other Indian Schools of thought, even the most ancient, there is much that is as noble and elevated as anything to be found elsewhere.

The general outline of the old Buddhist teaching that sank into the popular mind and so much affected all Indian thought was that the state of the untrammelled Self (*Âtman*) is bliss, and therefore birth is misery. The cause of the misery is desire, and therefore the cessation of misery can be brought about by the cessation of desire (*nirvâna*), and the path leading to that is right behaviour and right concentration of thought—*mens sana in corpore sano*. The strongly held inherited doctrine of transmigration and re-birth without an immortal spirit necessarily led to difficulties in exposition, clearly visible in the Buddhist Canon (*Tripitaka*, the Three Baskets). These were got over by the vision of a stream of consciousness running through physical life, which is capable of transmigration from individual to individual. Such a theory predicates an illusory nature for this life and world, and annihilation on the attainment of the cessation of desire procuring a complete deliverance from re-birth. This logical conclusion was, however, shirked, and *nirvâna* stopped philosophically at complete deliverance. Buddhism was subjected in due course to the same changes and chances as every other religion, and came to be of a widely differing nature in successive ages and places. Buddha's personality became occult and hardly distinguishable from the Godhead, contrary to everything he ever preached, and the practical religion became imbued with

every alien philosophy and ritual with which it was thrown into contact. Like Jainism, though without its extremity of doctrine, Buddhism preached and maintained the obligation to harm no living creature as right resolve, one of the requirements necessary for treading the path leading to the cessation of desire. It is interesting to note that this philosophic structure is intellectually connected with the Hindu Upanishads, which however are not purely Vedic. But in the *Rig-vêda* the deceased goes to a happy world prepared by the forefathers, in which Yama was the chief or god. He was thus the God of Heaven, the Judge rewarding virtue in this world and not the God of Hell, the judge punishing vice, that he afterwards became. Life in the next world meant bliss, and therefore birth into this world meant misery, on which proposition the great Buddhist teaching rested. Buddha also followed Hindu teaching in avoiding unnecessary austerities.

In founding Jainism, Mahâvîra constructed a sect out of an Order of *sannyâsî* ascetics known as the Pârshva, a name still preserved in many forms in India. This Order was based on early Hindu philosophy and practice as modified by the surrounding Animism. The doctrine of suicide by self-starvation after *twelve years* of ascetic life as a means of Release is an instance in point, although suicide in certain circumstances and conditions has always been widely upheld as an act of supreme merit in Hinduism. The Jain Scriptures (*Anga*, members of the body) in the hands of the revered traditional leaders, the Tîrthakaras (ford-makers), taught also that Release could be achieved only by the ascetic, but that the laity could by religious faith fully achieve the ascetic condition in a future life, and though they preached the existence of a soul in all things, they were atheistic. The Jains, therefore, were confronted with the same logical difficulties as the Buddhists. Carrying theory to extremes, a besetting sin of the Jains, also led them into serious difficulties in the matter of simplicity of life. Complete nudity is not a practice that can be carried into effect in any considerable civilised community, unless it consist solely of fanatics. So the Jains long ago became

split up into the Digambaras or sky-clad and Shvêtâmbaras or white-clad, the former being confined chiefly to professional ascetics or monks and the latter to the great remainder of the people, though both sects possessed clergy and laity.

It has been already pointed out that both Buddhism and Jainism owed their origin to educated influences outside official Brahmanism. It is necessary now to notice a third religious system of the same time, which, though it became absorbed into philosophic Hinduism as an integral part of it, has permeated the whole. Like Buddhism and Jainism, its origin was outside Brahmanism, and this requires a little explanation. It will be readily understood that the Aryan immigration was not a single act, nor even a single series of acts. The Aryans that founded Hinduism passed as far into the country as the modern Meerut and Delhi, or Madhya-dêsha, the Midland, as they termed it. Beyond that there were lands of the Northern and the North-eastern India, which were subjected to another Aryan migration from the North through the Himâlayan passes, where the invaders mixed more readily with the people they found there. Here the Brâhmans did not at first, nor indeed for a long time, secure that sway over the next Aryan class, the Kshatriyas or Warriors, which they acquired in the Midland. The same thing happened later on in the Central and Eastern Himâlayas themselves, where the Kshatriyas, represented then by Râjpût clans, would not in comparatively recent centuries admit the social supremacy of the Brâhmans. In this land beyond the Midland, to which European writers have given the convenient name of the Outland, the Kshatriyas thought for themselves and produced the three great antagonists of Brahmanism, *viz.*, Buddhism, Jainism, and the third religion, Bhâgavatism. The main doctrine of this third religion is devotional faith (*bhakti*) directed towards a personal God, under the title of Bhagavat (Bhagavân), the Lord. Its professed followers were, and are still, known as the Bhâgavatas, and their religion as the Path of Devotional Faith (*Bhakti-mârga*). The majority of the latter-day Hindus have been, and are, Vaishnavas, and it was the Vaishnavas that were

able, through the elevation of Vishnu, as the Sun-God, into the Supreme, not only to absorb the Bhâgavatas, but to force their doctrines on many Shaivas as well. Hence the extreme importance of Bhâgavatism for the present discussion. The founder was Krishna Vâsudêva, often also called only by his personal name Krishna, or by his patronymic Vâsudêva, who, like Siddhârtha Gautama the Buddha and Mahâvîra the Jina, became the hero of unlimited myth and legend and finally identified with the Godhead itself. Later Hinduism has owed very much to Bhâgavatism. The Buddhist and Jain philosophies were atheistic, and so originally was the Yôga, while the Vêdânta was theistic, but the Bhâgavata was nothing if not monotheistic. This dogma of the One God was important enough, but the Bhâgavatas went further from the beginning and also taught as dogma the supreme efficacy of devotional faith, the absolute immortality of the soul, and the ideas of the One God being the God of Grace (*prasâda*) and God the Father. As this line of teaching has for many centuries spread itself everywhere into all classes, it cannot be too clearly apprehended by all who would try to see Hinduism as it appears to the Hindus, that it is at its base, to the vast majority, monotheistic. In all religious systems, philosophy and ritual, representing respectively the spiritual and material mind, are not only more or less separate by nature, but have a separate history and origin. In India the two are not to be confounded: in ceremonial practice the everyday Hindu is a polytheist and a fetish-worshipper in respect of his daily wants; in thought and philosophy he is a monotheist, and he owes this to the Bhâgavata teaching in the centuries before the birth of Christ.

The Bhâgavatas gave God as an additional asset to the Hindu philosophies, making them possible as religions "understanded of the people," and took from the Hindus proper their technical terms with an altered meaning. Then the Bhâgavatas joined the Brâhmans, because of their pantheism, in the life and death struggle with the atheistic and then all-powerful Buddhists. They could do something with pantheism but nothing with atheism. The cost to the Brâhman, especially

to the Vaishnavas, was the identification of Vishnu, the Sun-God, as the Supreme, with Bhagavat, the Lord, the One God. The cost to the Bhâgavatas was absorption into Vaishnavism, as is preserved in the legend of Parashu-Râma, the destroyer of the Kshatriyas as the founders primarily of Bhâgavatism and secondarily of Buddhism and Jainism. All this is portrayed in the great later Hindu Scripture, the *Bhagavad-Gîtâ* (Song of the Lord). It is the old story of the Brâhman missionary method,—conquest by absorption. Bhâgavatism then became a phase of Hinduism, adopting its general ritual, philosophy and technical terms, but filling it with devotion to, and faith in, the One God of Grace. It was with this prevailing infusion in their mentality that the Hindus in the far distant centuries later on faced the violent impingement first of Islâm and then of Christianity. One wonders at times how far the missionaries and proselytisers of either have grasped how much of their success in India has been due to the work of the Bhâgavatas in the centuries before either of the latter faiths came into being, and how much the modifications of that success are due to the age-old methods of Brâhmans in meeting an opponent. One must also take into consideration that it was the permeation of Bhâgavatism into Hinduism that made possible and successful the analogous work of those who are generally known as the Indian Mediæval Reformers, of which body the composer of the *Lallâ-vâkyâni* was unconsciously an early member.

Bhâgavatism did not produce the monotheistic idea spontaneously. The most ancient of all Indian philosophies, the Sânkhya, was purely atheistic, and it was followed by the Yôga, also originally atheistic. In the Sânkhya, Release is obtained by contemplation on the nature of the soul and matter without reference to ethics. Yôga taught that morality was also necessary, and, to capture the public mind and make it think, added Îshvara, the Lord, just a soul endowed with supreme knowledge and power. Bhâgavatism turned the Yogic Lord into the One God of Grace to be worshipped in faith and devotion. It produced a great sect, known as the Pâncharâtras (the five nights of sacrifice), who played a

most important part in subsequent Hinduism, especially as their tenets were imitated, as closely as the condition permitted, by the Pâshupata sect of the Shaivas, *i.e.*, followers of Shiva as Pashupati, Lord of the Flocks (of souls). The consequent modification of Shaivism by the Pâshupatas will be appreciated. The Pâncharâtras propounded the doctrine of Cosmic Expansion (*vyûha*) in a kind of genealogy of personified abstractions. Vâsudêva (Krishna and thus Vishnu), the Supreme Reality, begat the Primeval Matter, who begat the Cosmic Mind, who begat the Cosmic Self-consciousness, who begat Brahmâ, the Creator of the visible world. The Pâshupatas improved on this by giving Shiva four more similar descendants, just as they gave Shiva 1008 "names" to the 1000 of Vishnu. This kind of cosmic and sectarian genealogy, through the personification of abstract ideas, has been widely copied in India, a *kursînâma*, or genealogical tree, having been found even among a wholly unlettered Outcaste sect of the Scavengers (Lâlbêgî), which consists of pure hagiolatry, a jumble of personified things thought to be sacred whatever their origin, Hindu, Islamic, Christian, or other.

It was not possible, however, for Hinduism to continue developing alone and unaffected by outside influences. Many interfered, and while the personality of Mahâvîra was still within the memory of yet living men, and while Buddha was at the zenith of his preaching, there occurred an event on the north-western borders of India, which produced a permanent effect on the subsequent history of the Peninsula, and was in fact the first of a series of such contacts with the outer and Western world. About 509 B.C. India was invaded by Darius the Great, ruler of the huge Persian Empire, who annexed the rich, densely populated and prosperous Indus Valley, which thus became a Persian province. Darius was one of the great administrators of antiquity, and maintained a system of Viceroys or Satraps (in old Persian, *Kshatrapavan*). The Indian dominions formed part of the Satrapies, and contact with an Empire stretching from the Mediterranean to the Indus, such as that of the Persian Achæmenids, of

whom Darius was one of the most prominent in the early line, had many permanent results in India in respect of trade, administration and civilisation, some of which are traceable even now. But the point for the present argument is that thereby the old Brahmanism came into practical contact with the old Zoroastrianism. This fact is of some consequence in considering the development of Indian philosophies after the contact, because the early Achæmenids were enthusiastic Zoroastrians, and the wide spread of their Empire gave an opportunity for propaganda on an immense scale, causing their faith to react strongly on every faith in civilised Asia, Europe, and North Africa. The Zoroastrians were, like the Hindus, natural missionaries. Indeed, the fundamental unity of Aryan mental instinct in the dominant populations of ancient India and Persia comes out strongly in their eclectic method of diffusing their respective creeds through priestly castes. Neither opposed the foreign gods; both absorbed them,—the Indian as emanations of his own Vishnu and Shiva, the Persians as servants of the supreme Ahuramazda. But the Indian dealt with the peoples of a compact country and so was able to dominate whilst absorbing; whereas the Persian dealt with a world-empire and was ultimately himself dominated through his absorption of the more gorgeous cults of the civilisations he encountered, till before the fall of the Empire the warm idolatry of the creeds of the masses overcame the cold monistic philosophy of the cultured classes, and even Scythian (Shâka) festivals came to be adopted.

It is therefore important to consider what were the main features of Zoroastrianism in the days of Darius and afterwards, as it is these that would commend themselves to the ancient Indian thinkers and possibly colour their subsequent thought. Zoroaster welded the floating Aryan beliefs of his day and surroundings into a definite religious doctrine, preserved in the songs (*gâthâs*) of the *Zend Avesta*, which was the guiding light of the ancient Persian Empire, and is still the foundation of the faith of the Parsis of India. In its essentials Zoroastrianism, echoing possibly thoughts from ancient Babylon, teaches the existence of a truceless war

between the powers of Good and Evil (Ahuramazda, later Hormazd, Ormazd, the Supreme Wisdom and Angrômainyus, later Ahrimân, the Evil Spirit), each with a number of "servants" taken from the ancient deities, who were, of course, recognised as gods by the people through all time, according to a line of unconscious argument common apparently to all religious practice, Aryan and non-Aryan; and it placed mankind midway between the powers of Good and Evil, laying upon Man the responsibility of choice as to which he will follow, and so govern his fate for himself on a Day of Judgment. The creed was from the first individualist and propagandist, claiming universal acceptance. But it succumbed to the inherent weakness of a creed based on moral precepts only, and developed a casuistry and external formalism as extensive and dominant as any to be found in India at any time. The history of the evolution of Zoroastrian belief and practice is, in fact, in many respects the history of those of the Buddhist and the Jain.

In 326 B.C., nearly 200 years after Darius, in the days of Alexander the Great, India once more came into direct contact with Western ideas and ways. Although Alexander never pressed beyond the Panjâb, and his Indian Empire only lasted a very few years, the work of that truly wonderful man had a permanent effect. Among the very many things he accomplished was the teaching of state-craft on a large scale and generalship to the Indian Chiefs, thus rendering possible the work of the Mauryas, the great native Imperial dynasty that came after him in successive generations. And he strengthened trade routes and intercourse to such an extent that the Indian and Greek art, science and commerce re-acted on each other. His invasion was indeed important and beneficial to Indian life, and brought the West into touch with the East in almost every aspect of it, secular and religious, setting up a mutual influence, which the successors of Alexander in Persia and the Indian border-lands, and the Alexander-taught greater Indian Rulers themselves, confirmed and strengthened in the centuries that followed around the foundation of the Christian Era.

There is no minimising the effect of contact such as this, however much the Indian monkish writers may have succeeded in hiding it from sacerdotal and patriotic motives. Darius was a born organiser, a believer in the destiny of his race, to which had been divinely given, to use the words of his own proclamation, "dominion over this world afar, over many peoples and tongues," whom he was pledged to govern aright and civilise. And though he gave the widest autonomy to his outlying provinces, the armies and the governors he sent to represent him thoroughly believed in themselves and their leader,—"A Persian, the son of a Persian, an Aryan of Aryan stock," to quote the proud inscription he caused to be cut on his tomb. Such men were bound to spread their religious and philosophic ideas wherever they went. Alexander, although not a true Greek, acted as a Greek of the Greeks, saturated with Greek culture, a conscious world-conqueror for Greek civilisation from the beginning, and thoroughly capable of carrying out his ideas. During his short life in Persia he wielded an immense influence there, which left a deep and pervading impression on the minds of the people, and wherever he went he was accompanied by men eminent in Greek art, letters, science and philosophy, while as to philosophy he was well versed in the doctrines of Plato, Aristotle and Kallisthenes.

In 312 B.C., not long after his death, there arose out of the chaos caused by it another great Greek, Seleukos Nikator (the Victorious), as an imperial ruler, followed by his son Antiokhos Soter (Saviour), who died in 262 B.C. Their empire extended from Thrace to India and they were both Hellenisers on a large scale, diffusing the Greek language, commerce and civilisation everywhere as far as the Indus, and adopting Alexander's plan of founding Greek autonomous cities with country districts attached thereto under the suzerainty of the empire. Thus were created large and flourishing communities of the Greek sort, which attracted wealthy settlers, especially Jews, from foreign lands, and Oriental civilisation was given a distinctly Hellenic form. The native populations were left alone to follow their own faith, by that time

Zoroastrianism in the decadent form it had assumed under the later Achæmenids, filled with the worship of gods and goddesses, Mithras of the Unconquered Sun, Anaitis of the Rivers (to use the Greek forms of the names), and the rest. Indeed, it is possible that the rise of the Sun-Gods, Vishnu of India and Mithras of Persia, to the supreme position at about the same period may be an instance of mutual influence, or ancient common origin, just as later on the Indian sun-worshippers, the Sauras, whose supreme deity was Sûrya, the Sun, undoubtedly took their ritual from Persia, while their philosophy was directly of Indian origin. The great Indian Imperial potentates with whom Seleukos and Antiokhos came into violent contact were Chandragupta (Sandrakottos), and his successor Bindusâra, otherwise Amitraghâta (Amitrokhates). The former was the actual pupil of Alexander and became the founder, in consequence of what he had thus learnt, of the first native Empire in India, the Mauryan, of which his grandson, Ashôka, was the great ornament. Following on a matrimonial alliance there came to Chandragupta at Pâtalîputra (Patnâ), from the Court of Seleukos Nikator, a lady in whose train was the physician-envoy, Megasthenes, taking the opportunity to learn and report all he could about the Mauryan Court, and no doubt Indians learnt from him as well.

While Ashôka was yet alive and spreading Buddhism far and wide, the country on the Indian borderlands and in the mountains of Afghânistân came as early as 250 B.C. under the sway of Greek education, through successful revolts in consequence of the death of Antiokhos. Some of these people pushed their way well into India itself, whereon Hellenised Parthians from Persia and others held power there, consolidating Greek influence for about three centuries. The political situation became most confused, owing to the inroads, in consequence of the ever increasing desiccation of the continent, into the Afghân mountains of wild nomads from Central Asia, called by the Hindus Shakas and known to Europeans as the Scythians. They soon spread further and set up rulers of their own, the Shâka Satraps of Western India. Then, as

the desiccation of the Asiatic Continent continued, Yue-chi Tribes, another swarm of Central Asian nomads, arrived on the scene. Of these, one tribe, the Kushâns, over-ran the whole of North India, and under Kanishka, in the latter part of the first century A.D., profoundly affected Buddhism and further consolidated their adopted Greek culture. In fact, Kanishka became one of the greatest of all Buddhist monarchs, and his fame outshines that of Ashôka throughout Asia north of India. Meanwhile, in the two first centuries A.D., both Jews and Christians of the Syrian type not only impinged on both North and South India, but had free and regular communications with the country, and even settled in South India in considerable numbers. Rome, too, after a long struggle with the Parthian successors of the Seleukid Greeks, made herself felt during this period throughout Persia, destroying Hellenic influence there, and laying the foundation of frequent trade communication with India, while she herself was rapidly becoming Christianised. At the same time the story of the Persian successors of the Parthians, the Sasanian Emperors, was from the point of view of creed one long give-and-take struggle between Syrian Christianity and the then decadent Zoroastrianism of the followers of Mithras, the Sun-God (Mithraism), as the popular opponents of the orthodox expositors of the Pahlavî (Parthian) *Avesta*, carefully collected out of the remains of the Zend *Avesta* by great Parthian and Sasanian rulers, and recorded, be it remembered, in the Aramaic script of the Syrian Christians. To add to the confusion of religious influence at this period, one result caused by the inroads of, and partial domination of Persia by, the Ephthalites or White Huns was the raising of the inveterately intolerant and proselytising Syrian Christians (Nestorians) for a while to the position of the Christian Church of the Sasanian Empire with headquarters at Seleukia (near Ktesiphon in the region of Baghdâd).

The effect of this kind of Western contact is appreciable in some aspects of the doctrine and practice of the Bhâgavatas, and thence of the Vaishnavas or bulk of the orthodox Hindus. Thus there is a feature of Bhâgavatism—the sacred character

given to the Holy Name—which points to contemporaneous early Christian influence, though it is more probably merely a descendant in both Bhâgavatism and Christianity of pre-migration Aryan ideas. It has already been shown that the idea of the sacred nature of the mystic syllables of the Hindus arose out of the exigencies of singing their hymns. In time this became so exaggerated that the syllables acquired a specially mysterious holiness, till one of them, *Ôm*, in the Yôga teaching was actually used to express Îshvara, the Lord, which term, by the way, exactly translates the Greek Kyrios of the Christians. It may be argued, therefore, that it was but a short stage on the part of the Bhâgavatas, after their absorption into Hinduism, to transfer the sacred character of the holy syllables to the name of the Incarnate Adorable (God), as an echo of early Christian teaching, with which they had every opportunity of becoming acquainted. On the other hand the worship of *Ôm* as a symbol of the Supreme goes back to the early times of the Upanishads. Both Christianity and Bhâgavatism acquired an extravagant belief in the mysterious power attached to the Holy Name, and the Bhâgavatas bequeathed it to all subsequent Hinduism as a permanent legacy. Again, the Bhâgavatas confirmed a very ancient characteristic of Hindu Upanishadic teaching—the extravagant respect paid to the teacher (*guru*), which is also a prominent feature of early Christianity. This custom too appears to be, therefore, a reminiscence of an Aryan pre-migration reverence for the official sacrificer, brought into prominence in both Bhâgavatism and Christianity in consequence of mutual contact. The Indian process was in this wise. The old Brâhmans insisted on veneration of, and implicit obedience to, the preceptor: the Bhâgavatas placed him practically on a level with the Adorable and held his utterances to be the Word of God. This excessive reverence for the *guru* or *gôsâin* has often been unreasonably exaggerated in many Indian sects, leading to actual deification, and it may be fairly said that the respect habitually paid in India by followers and the populace to spiritual guides has not been altogether within reason.

Yet another and originally ancient source of outside influence arose along the Western coasts and continued for many centuries, partly as the result of the driving force applied by the Central Asians to the peoples established in Persia and Afghânistân. Tribes and clans wandered along the West Coast and established themselves as separate communities, and thence far inland all over the country. Some of the tribal and clan names still survive, as in the case of the Gurjaras (*vulgo* Gûjars) of Gujarât, and in that of the Kâthîs of Kâthîâwâr, both large tracts on the Western seaboard. The clans, under the generic name of Râjpûts (*râjaputra*, sons of the chief, the clan), were of very various origin—aborigines, extra-Aryan Indians, and Western Aryan and extra-Aryan immigrants—and both they and the immigrant tribes became in due course so Hinduised as to be indistinguishable from other Hindus. They brought with them, however, customs and ideas, which reacted on religion, owing to the dominant position among the general population they achieved and held for so many centuries. The outcome of all these grave political influences was a long-continued social and mental, as well as commercial contact between the Hindu and the world to the West of him.

While the West had been so busy interfering with India, the East had been anything but idle. Mongolian and further Indian races, all eventually traceable to the great highlands beyond the Eastern Himâlayas and West of the Chinese plains, crossed the mountains of the North-eastern frontiers and settled in what are now Assam and Bengal. They did not, however, appreciably affect the political conditions; but they mixed with the extra-Aryan population and must have introduced their own form of Animism with its inherent atheism, ancestor-worship, multiplicity of supernatural spirits, wise men to compel the spirits to serve mankind, together with their occult incantatory methods for doing so (Shâmanism), and their theory of the wandering detachable soul, which leads up so easily to the doctrine of Transmigration. If it be true, as indeed might well be the case, that the debased form of Hinduism that sprang up later on, known as Tântrism,

is due to Mongolian and Far Eastern influence, the result of this immigration has been profound indeed. The contact must have been ancient, because we find Chinese writers well aware of Indian history in the second century B.C., and Hindu adventurers founding important kingdoms and introducing Hinduism all over the Far East long before that, besides a reciprocal invasion of Shâns, a typical Far Eastern race, into Assam and North-east India, and unequivocal remains of the congeners of two other typical races of the same kind, the Môns and the Tibeto-Burmans in Eastern and Northern India from a very early date.

But the influence of these is entirely overshadowed by that eventually wielded by the South over the North of India, and on Hinduism generally in all its forms. Right across the middle of the Peninsula is a mighty barrier of hills intersected by large rivers, and in the early Hindu days covered by a dense jungle and forest, which was so prominent that it had a definite recognition and names, Dandaka and Mahâkântâra, the Great Forest. It formed a difficult obstacle to the Aryan invaders of the North, and it and the country beyond it were called the Dakshina (the land on "the right hand" as they marched East), the modern Deccan (Dakhan). In this land and in that to the south of it, and for that matter in that to the north of it too, the dominant race they found there was known to the Aryans as the Dravidians (Dravida), a form of the same non-Aryan term from which is derived the modern name Tamil. The many wilder and still older peoples occupying the territory dominated by the Dravidians were the demon and monkey (Hanumân) tribes of the Aryan records and legends. The Dravidians had as commanding a capacity for mental development as the Aryans themselves, and the point for the present purpose is that in these regions, after an immense struggle, the South Indian population succumbed to the religious and domestic institutions of the Aryans, who had by the time this was accomplished become developed into the Hindus. Eventually the Dravidians became the staunchest of the supporters of Hinduism in all its forms, and by a reflex action many centuries later imposed their own development of Hindu faith and philosophy on the North, heavily tinged with their own pre-Hindu mentality. The Aryan penetration southwards was achieved in the usual Aryan way by colonising and proselytising where they could, and by the fifth century B.C. the Hindus in the Deccan and their adherents had become sufficiently numerous and influential to create a social law of their own, the *Code of Âpastamba*. In due course also Buddhism and Jainism were fully introduced, until Hinduism had so entirely superseded the original faith of the Dravidians that it disappeared altogether in the case of the educated classes. Hinduism could never, however, destroy the pristine Dravidian beliefs and practices among the uneducated, and the original Dravidian religion still survives in the ubiquitous "devil-worship" of the South, which is a primitive Animism, wherein the spirits have to be propitiated and won over by ceremonies, ecstatic dancing taking a prominent place in the performances. As has been already remarked, the Brâhman in the Outland of the North of India did not succeed in asserting a complete ascendancy over the Kshatriya or Warrior class. Something of the same kind happened in South India in the case of the powerful Dravidian class that corresponded to the North Indian Kshatriya and was there known as the Shûdra, and so it has come about that in the South the term Shûdra does not denote a menial servant, an aboriginal hanger-on of the Aryan within the Hindu fold, but a person of position among the castes. It has been necessary to dwell thus at length on the outside influences bearing on ancient Hinduism in order to make clear the complexity of its further development.

While they were being subjected to the impact of alien ideas in the directions just indicated, the Hindus were progressing in their own fashion, slowly working out, with an infinite clash of Schools and dogmas and on the other hand with mutual borrowings, their six main systems of orthodox philosophy, each with its School of aphorisms and commentaries thereon, the Vêdânta Schools being the most popular. The Vaishnavas propounded their great theory of

Incarnation (*avatâra*, descent), which had much to do with their ultimate victory over Buddhism, as it declared Buddha to be one of the many incarnations of Vishnu, and this brought him and his doctrines theoretically within the Hindu fold. Incidentally the theory began to prove itself a most powerful method of proselytising generally. Buddhism and Hinduism were by this time in fact not other than equally matched rivals influencing each other greatly, and Buddhism in various ways had undergone downward changes despite the efforts of its orthodox schools to preserve a lofty philosophy in all the varieties thereof,—scholastic, atomic, realistic, idealistic, metaphysical and transcendental, with theories of direct and indirect perception. Images of Buddha and his supposed predecessors were set up in shrines, which the general public worshipped, however much the monks might have looked on them as merely stimulants to emotion. And then the Buddhists of the Kushân Empire, under Kanishka's influence, split Buddhism in two. The older type of Buddhist could become an *arhat* (deserving) and so attain *nirvâna*, in the sense of annihilation or absorption into the Universal Self, according to his School. But the newer one became a *bôdhisattva* (one whose nature consists in enlightenment, hence destined to become a Buddha), who, though he became entitled by the sanctity of many lives to attain *nirvâna*, remained alive as a god to help the seeker after release; while Buddha, through transcendental (*lôkôttara*, beyond the world) philosophic appreciation of him as a superman, became a great saviour-god. The old or humble vehicle (*Hînayâna*) could only appeal to the few, whereas the new or great vehicle (*Mahâyâna*) was open to all. It was very popular, whence Kanishka's abiding fame, and it spread over all Central and Eastern Asia, though not to Ceylon nor permanently to Burma and Siam, and to this day the greatest of the Bôdhisattvas, Avalôkitêshvara (Lord of the lowest Heaven) later confounded with Amitâbha, is worshipped as Amîda by the Japanese Buddhists. But it destroyed Buddhism as a philosophy wherever it attained the upper hand, and substituted for it a polytheistic idolatry, with a gorgeous

ritual and very much extra-Aryan superstition, largely connected with a belief in the efficacy of spells (*dhâranî*) as the principal article of faith.

Meanwhile scripts had been introduced, and the Scriptures, Buddhist and Hindu, had been preserved in writing, including the commencement of the eventually huge Tibetan Mahâyâna Canon (*Kanjur*) and its equally unwieldy commentary (*Tanjur*), which as they stand are all translated from Sanskrit originals.

The cult of Krishna as the Absolute, the actual Brahman, had become fixed, and the subsequently all-important doctrine of *Karmayôga*, the performance of duty under the restraint of no desire for reward—duty for duty's sake—as a means of obtaining Release, had been promulgated, having the popular result of uniting philosophic renunciation of this world with practical everyday life. The versified *Dharmashâstras*, or rules of behaviour for all classes, came largely to the front. Of these the *Mânava Dharmashâstra*, popularly the Laws of Manu, the mythical first sacrificer and progenitor of the human race, and really the production of a monastic school, took final shape about 200 A.D., and became famous in all subsequent times. It is essentially a code for the "twice-born" only, and its one momentous import for orthodox Hindu life was that by it theoretically no widow, if even a virgin, could re-marry, but must live on as a celibate ascetic. But it must be understood that it was essentially a scholastic code, and though it has undergone but little change during the ages, it has always formed the same relation to actual facts as the Law of Moses does in Judaism, Christianity and Islâm. Incidentally, it may be remarked that the prohibition of marriage to widows may have been based on a non-Aryan superstition shown in a good many other customs. Association with the unlucky brings ill-luck: therefore to be unlucky, as a widow obviously is, through no fault of her own, is to commit a sin, *i.e.* an offence against the community, that can be expiated only by the self-torture of asceticism and a life of sacrifice for others[1].

[1] This is not the orthodox explanation, which is as follows: the widow owes her position to having committed a sin in a previous life and she

In the political whirligig of the times, another line of peace-producing Emperors, with the same names as the Mauryas, though unconnected with them, and known as the Guptas, was brought into being in 319 A.D. by another Chandragupta. This dynasty produced great rulers, who affected the history and development of the Hindus: Samudragupta of the long reign (326–375), a mighty warrior, administrator, and patron of letters, and his successor, Chandragupta Vikramâditya, the Râja Bikram of many a legend, another imposing figure of the past, who reigned on till 413. It was a little before this time that the well-known *Purânas* (concerning the old days) arose, which purported to relate ancient history and were in fact based on (probably Kshatriya) legends and historical tales of great antiquity. Nevertheless they were in reality popular sectarian works, each in favour of a particular cult. Secular literature also flourished greatly, and so many enduring works on rhetoric, grammar, astronomy, romance, drama and poetry were produced, that this has long been looked on as the golden age of Sanskrit literature. At this time also the Shvêtâmbara (white-clad) Jains completed their Canon. The general peace that prevailed induced the erection of great and beautiful buildings and images of all sorts, Hindu, Buddhist, and Jain. It was the period, too, of most beautifully ornamented caves as places of sanctity. Then came a cataclysm. In the reign of the fourth Gupta, Kumâragupta, yet another swarm of Central Asian nomads, the Ephthalites or White Huns, known to the Indians as Hûnas, swept down on India and finally overcame the dynasty in 520. They overran, and after their manner elsewhere, thoroughly devastated, Northern India, which became an unhappy province of their then huge Central Asian Empire, extending from Persia to Chinese Turkistân. Their rule in India did not last long, and a combination of native Indian chiefs drove out the tyrannical Hun ruler, Mihirakula. His Indian name or title, meaning "of the race," or perhaps "the servant, of (the Persian) Mithras," the Sun-

must "eat" the result. So it is unlucky to touch her. She is in fact "eating her *karma*" (result of action in a former life).

God, is instructive in the present connection, in view of the fact that a proselytising priesthood of the Mithra cult was then all-powerful throughout Persia and all round it under the Mobeds, successors of the Magi. Mihirakula was forced into Kashmîr, where he died some years later; but his departure did not end the White Hun influence on the people, for many of the tribesmen remained on in the Panjâb and Râjpûtânâ, and brought about changes which have definitely affected the population to the present day. Yet another case of the impingement of foreigners and their ways and habits of thought on Hinduism.

The rapid development by the Vaishnavas of the theory of Transmigration into that of Incarnation, by the simple means of the reversal of ideas and processes, had a deep effect on Hinduism. And the new theory, borrowing from the legends of the mythical predecessors of Buddha and the equally mythical *tîrthakaras* (apostles) of the Jains, created as many incarnations (*avatâra*, descent) of Vishnu, viewed as the Supreme Self (*Âtman*), as were necessary to its support. Indeed, it went much further towards winning the regard of the public by offering a rich, warm faith for cold philosophical enquiry. Krishna, Râma. Buddha, several of the revered personages, and even animals and other gods, thus became incarnations of Vishnu, and Vaishnavism greatly flourished. The popularity of the theory, which may now be called the combined theory of Transmigration and Incarnation, was greatly enhanced by the gathering together by Buddhists, Jains, and orthodox Hindus of the folktales of the day in many notable collections for educational purposes, a practice copied by all subsequent Indian sects. Of the ancient collections, the *Jâtakas* (Lives) of the Buddhists have become the best known, purporting to relate the stories of the lives of Buddha previous to his tangible existence as a human being, but really using current folklore to illustrate and enforce Buddhist doctrines. The spectacle of the Vaishnavas capturing the public, through the doctrine of the Incarnation and its attendant ritual of personal worship of incarnated deity, fired

the Shaivas on behalf of Shiva, the typical ascetic, as the rival representative of the Supreme Self. They revived for him very ancient pre-migration popular attributes, the sacred bull (*nandi*) as his companion or vehicle, and the phallic emblem (*linga*) as his symbol for worship, so that he could become popular as the god of male generation. All this, however, fell far behind the Vaishnava incarnations as a general attraction. But this is not to say that there was no severe struggle between Shaiva and Vaishnava. Each fought vociferously for the supremacy of his own God for weary centuries of polemics, and somewhat after the fashion of the Manichæans, who were teaching the fundamental truth of all forms of religion among fighting sects of early Christians at much the same period, there arose those who would compromise. This brought about the doctrine of the Trimûrti (Triad, Trinity), the threefold manifestation of the Supreme Brahman, the Incomprehensible, in the unity of Brahmâ, Vishnu and Shiva, the three prominent, and to the people equal, gods of the Epics, as the Creator, Preserver and Destroyer. This concept, coming long after the establishment of Christianity, has naturally been seized upon by Christian writers and students, and is not uncommon in Hindu literature and ancient sculpture, perhaps owing to the analogous contemporary representation of the four-faced image of the four last Buddhas, *i.e.* Buddha himself and his three well-known, though fictitious, immediate predecessors[1]. Nevertheless, the idea never reached the popular mind, which was

[1] It may be as well to explain here that the *Trimûrti* is not a Trinity in the Christian sense, *i.e.*, a manifestation of one God in Three Persons. It more nearly approaches the Buddhist Four Buddhas, or the four phases of Shiva (Chaturmukha), and in reality the Hindus recognise four, not three, Persons, *viz.*, the Supreme Brahman (God) and three manifestations of Him, which vary according to sect or school. Brahmâ, Vishnu and Shiva are the names of the manifestations of Brahman in Vaishnava teaching, which is that usually followed. At the same time the Bhâgavatas did in time develop a true Trinity in Unity, which never went far with the people, by recognising the Supreme God, incarnations of Him, and His energetic power, conceived as a woman, His spouse Lakshmî. This is almost certainly due to early Syrian Christianity, which recognised God, His incarnation Christ, and His Spirit the Holy Ghost, conceived as the Virgin Mary.

obsessed with Shiva, Vishnu or Krishna, for it was at this time that the Krishna myth took serious form and became widely promulgated through popular stories of his exploits as an amorous cowherd youth and of his childhood, these last borrowing much from Western, perhaps definitely Christian sources. Meanwhile Buddhism and Hinduism began to approximate and lend to each other in thought and practice, and the general outcome of the whole situation was fraught with a tremendous issue. It produced sects favouring a special god to the exclusion of the rest, and worshipping him by a special ritual and liturgy, which were non-Vedic and even non-Aryan, in opposition to the orthodox followers of the Vedic pantheon and ritual. Once sects arise the invariable tendency is to multiply indefinitely, and this fate has overtaken Hinduism from this time onwards, the Vaishnavas with their *Bhagavadgîtâ*, the Song of the Lord, leading the way.

The period of early foreign contact was in fact the period of schools fashioning themselves into sects with rival philosophies and ritual, and borrowing so much from each other, while they violently disputed, that it is often even then, and constantly later on, difficult to disentangle the doctrines of any one sect or philosophy from those surrounding it. The result, to be always borne in mind, is visible in the teaching of any prominent leader or sect or philosophy that one may happen to be studying, *viz.*, one line of reasoning and teaching is followed as the ground-plan, the superstructure thereon adopting something from every other line with which there is or has been contact, even though it may be incompatible with the main principles. Thus, in Hindu philosophies and cults, Vaishnavism contains much Shaivism and *vice versâ*, Buddhism and Hinduism mutually lend and borrow. Theism and atheism and monotheism are all more or less mixed up, and the teaching of every reformer contains something of the very doctrines he most strenuously opposed and strove to refute. In this way the monotheistic Bhâgavatas adopted the Sânkhya philosophy while rejecting its atheism. Indeed, eclecticism, in obedience to the Law of Evolution already

indicated, must be looked for in all Indian teaching as its most distinguishing characteristic. This is why the old Shaivism exhibits a noteworthy theology, why Buddhism became a definitely theistic creed, and why the originally heterodox Vaishnavas and Shaivas both retained orthodox Vedic worship in domestic ceremonies.

The *Bhagavadgîtâ* became an orthodox light and guide, and its lasting service to Hinduism is that it taught the attainment of Release by the Path of Knowledge (*gyâna-mârga, jñâna-mârga*), *i.e.* of Scriptures, giving a wide latitude to that term; or by the Path of Works and Duties (*karma-mârga*), provided they are performed without desire for reward; or by the Path of Devotion (*bhakti-mârga*), *i.e.*, mere faith and devotion to Krishna, and through Krishna to Vishnu, as the Bhagavân, the Lord, the Adorable God. The last two points are of great importance, as the world and his wife could practise duty for duty's sake, or in the alternative win Release by faith in a personal God and devotion to Him. Finally, the *Bhagavadgîtâ* did not acknowledge animal sacrifice, which thereupon gradually ceased among strict Vaishnavas.

Jainism generally followed Buddhism in the changes that went on, and its chief authority was in the South and South-west, where it affected Kanarese and Tamil literature, taking a share (though this is disputed) in the formation of the great collection of didactic poems known to fame as *Kurral*, which still has there so commanding an influence. Mahâyâna Buddhism, however, claims more attention at this time, because, although as a whole it was eminently the opposite of true philosophy and appealed directly to the senses and emotions, it had two distinct philosophies of its own worth consideration, owing to the intermingling of that type of Buddhism and subsequent types of Hinduism. The chief School of Mahâyânists taught devotion to the many Buddhas and their attendant Bôdhisattvas that they created for their Nirvâna, now a dwelling-place, a Heaven; and they attributed to the Bôdhisattvas the will and the power to give assistance to mankind, Buddhas and Bôdhisattvas both being also made

subject to transmigration and re-incarnation. They taught also that anyone could become a Buddha by a vow to do so, which made the taker *ipso facto* a Bôdhisattva, capable of going through all the lives necessary to attain the final goal, beginning with active benevolence and a desire to benefit all creation, without however being obliged to lead a celibate life. But they forbad the use of flesh for food. Lastly, they taught the theory of Vacuity (*shûnyatâ*), that true being is inexpressible, incognisable, using for their purpose the doctrine that no personality exists but only an endless succession of infinitesimal moments. This led to the denial of the existence of anything observable or conceivable, except appearance and emptiness—the doctrine of illusion in another form. To see the truth was therefore to hear the silence that is neither affirmation nor denial. This teaching echoes the *Bhagavadgîtâ* and takes something from each of the six orthodox Hindu Schools of philosophy, and is almost inevitably self-contradictory; but then so is any Hindu philosophy, and for that matter any other philosophy of religion that one can mention, owing to heterogeneous origin and persistent borrowing. The second School of Mahayanists had a much more simple method of captivating a populace seeking for better times in a future existence. Among the millions of Buddhas it created is one, Amitâbha (measureless light), once the Bôdhisattva Avalôkitêshvara, who dwells far away in the West in the Land of Bliss (Sukhâvatî: paradise, "the Islands of the Blest"). Anyone that wills, by works of merit (*karma*), prayer, faith, devotion, worship, and uttering his name, can secure re-birth in the Land of Bliss, to dwell there under Amitâbha's care in joy and happiness until he attains the perfection of the Buddhahood for himself. No wonder Amitâbha's representative, Amîda, became popular in Japan and wherever else this cult has spread. In the midst of all this superstition, it is pleasant to observe that in one respect the doctrine of the necessity for a life of self-sacrifice in order to make the position of a Bôdhisattva effective has done untold good by inculcating a compassionate feeling among all manner of Buddhists towards every kind of living creature,

human or other, clearly visible in Buddhist countries to the present day.

As already stated, the recognised systems (*darshana*, view) of Hindu philosophy are six in number, and they go in pairs, the second member of each pair adopting the metaphysics of the first and arguing thereon in its own way. They were formulated, so far as they have come down through literature, which is not to say that they began, at the period of sect-expansion, when each sect had its own theology, seeking to identify its God with Brahman, the Absolute, and also its own *Purâna* or *archaeologia*, a treatise on origins, aiming to catch the popular taste. There is so much revelation, lifting the veil by divine agency, in the three groups above indicated, that their title to philosophies, reasoned explanations of the causes of phenomena, is open to doubt. But a philosophy after all is but an explanation of phenomena, and in all religious teaching philosophy and revelation tend to become mixed up. To the everyday inexpert Hindu of culture, his orthodox systems are philosophies, and as such they are treated in this thesis, a notice of them being necessary for grasping the subsequent development of Hinduism. Their great feature is that they all refer to each other, and hence, so far as the public are concerned, they are all intermingled and form one general hazy philosophy of revelation. This inter-relation comes out strongly in the contradictory quatrains of the *Lallâ-vâkyâni*. Thus, we have for the first pair, the *Karma Mîmânsâ* (enquiry into action, *i.e.* sacrifice), called also the *Pûrva Mîmânsâ* (enquiry into the first (ritual) part of the *Vêda*), and the *Vêdânta* (end of the *Vêda*) or *Uttara Mîmânsâ* (enquiry into the later (spiritual) part of the *Vêda*). For the second pair there are the *Sânkhya* (intellectual contemplation, but often styled systematic enumeration), and the *Yôga* (restraint by exercises, bodily and mental). The first of the pair has become so far embodied in the second that the two are usually quoted together as the *Sânkhya-Yôga*. For the third pair there are the *Vaishêshika* (*vishêsha*, differentiation of atoms), whose author has been dubbed Kanâda,

the atom-eater, from the theory of the atomic origin of all things, and the *Nyâya* (logic), a logical presentation of the atomic theory.

Bearing in mind the eclecticism and the consequent uncertainty inherent in all Indian philosophy, it may be said that the object of the *Karma Mîmânsâ*, which arose out of the necessity for Vedic exegesis or investigation, is to teach religious duty (*dharma*) to the Hindus, as the sole end of religious action as typified by sacrifice (*karma*), by which to attain an invisible transcendental reward. The system is atheistic, realistic and domestic. No supreme deity and no transmigration, nor other tangible reward: active duty the only practical aim in life. This doctrine is improved on in the Uttara Mîmânsâ or Vêdânta by providing a definite Deity in One Supreme Intelligence, Brahman; formless, omniscient, eternal, above the gods and both the material and final cause of the world. This teaching is not strictly philosophy, but revelation, because Brahman can only be known, *i.e.*, revealed, through Scripture (*shruti*), which is also eternal, and of which Brahman is the source. The Vêdânta also provided an eternal individual soul, as an emanation of Brahman, returning to him through transmigration as the fruit of action (*karma*) and Scriptural knowledge (*gyâna*, *jñâna*)[1]. This knowledge is attained by chastity and meditation on Brahman, which eventually brings the soul release from transmigration and final return to re-absorption in Brahman. The question of the degree of individuality existing in the individual soul eventually split Hindu thinkers into three categories: those who believed in the eternal separation of Brahman (*dvaita*, duality), those who believed in no separation at all from Brahman (*advaita*, non-duality, monism), and those who compromised (*bhêdâbhêda*, identity with difference), believing in neither separation nor non-separation. The first two of these convulsed the Hindu world, and drove it into opposing camps. But the main importance of the Vêdânta teaching is that it is conveyed in

[1] At the end of the Introduction I have given reasons why I write all words containing *jñ* twice over, as *gyâna*, *jñâna*. In modern Kâshmîrî this term is pronounced *gyân*.

the *Vêdânta-sûtras* (*memoria technica*), which to most thinking "twice-born" Hindus are still infallible revelation.

The Sânkhya, unlike the Mîmânsâ (Vêdânta), is a philosophy, of which the basis is rationalistic speculation, and it is orthodox only because of its informal appeal to Scripture. It strives after Release through knowledge based on evidence supplied by perception, inference, and Scripture as the vehicle of right affirmation. By the aid of the last it affirms two external existences, *viz.*, one original nature (*prakriti*), unconscious and productive, and many souls (*purusha*, *lit.* males), conscious and inactive: a theory which involves an atheistic dualism. It then conceives Nature (Prakriti), known only by its products, as the universal material cause, which begets Intelligence (*buddhi*), which begets the Ego or Individuality (*ahankâra*), whereby each soul imagines itself to be an active individual, which begets the Mind (*manas*) and also the senses and the sources of action, the rudiments and the material elements. The presence of the soul and the Ego in the same individual makes the soul imagine that it is alive and active, whereas in reality it is but an inactive spectator of the processes of Nature; yet, through the Ego's observation of Nature the soul can realise that it is not bound by Nature, but is a free inactive spirit. This leads to the argument that by repeated contemplation of Nature in peace and in inaction, the soul at the death of the body can attain Isolation (*kaivalya*). The Sânkhya philosophy has deeply influenced all Indian thought, and it introduced that systematic enumeration which is so characteristic of Indian philosophic speculation. There is the subsequently familiar genealogy and the ticking off of the points of an argument: *e.g.*, the descent of Mind from Nature and the products of the Ego contain 25 points; thus, the five senses, the five sources of action, the five rudiments, the five material elements, one Prakriti (Nature), the three products of Prakriti, and one Purusha (soul) = 25. Incidentally, there is an implication in the argument that the soul can transmigrate. The Yôga accepted all the 25 points of the Sânkhya and added as 26th Îshwara, the Lord, as expressed by the magic syllable, *Ôm*. It thus

carried the atheistic Sânkhya a distinct step towards theism by giving the Lord the attributes of God and prescribing the worship of the Lord as helpful to spiritual progress. The importance of the Yôga lies in its statement of the practical method by which Isolation can be attained: *viz.*, moral restraint, ascetic observances and physical and mental exercises, leading to discrimination between the soul and Nature. As has been already pointed out, the Mîmânsâs appealed to the "twice-born," and the Sânkhya also to Shûdras, but the Yôga appealed to all, even Outcastes.

The Vaishêshika is an atomic realism, based on a theory of atoms (*paramânu*, a minimum), each of which is an eternal ultimate reality, invisible and without magnitude, yet containing either odour, flavour, light or heat, as the ultimate constituents respectively of earth, water, air and fire. Three atoms make the smallest entity that can be termed a substance. Ether (*âkâsha*) is an ultimate reality and is the all-pervading medium for forming substances out of the unsubstantial atom. Time (*kâla*), another ultimate reality, is the basis of all activity, which is balanced by direction (*dik*), so as to keep things in position, and thus prevent their dissolution. The individual self or soul (*âtman*) is yet another eternal ultimate atom, and the last or final ultimate is the mind (*manas*), the organ for bringing the soul into touch with the outer world through the senses. The Vaishêshika is atheistic, while formally recognising the Scriptures, and like the Sânkhya ticks off its atoms into nine categories, and has also six classes of things that can be named. A real knowledge of these classes brings Release. The Nyâya (logic) plays the same part in regard to the Vaishêshika as the Yôga does towards the Sânkhya; it adds Îshvara, the Lord, who administers the fruits of action. It is thus theistic, but its service lies in subjecting the Vaishêshika theory to logical argument.

Hinduism had also a direct hand in framing the great Mahâyâna Buddhist philosophy, called the Vigyânavâda (*vijñânavâda*, thought-system), which, it will be seen, was actually based on Hindu philosophic speculation. The chief writer was Asanga, a Brâhman who first "verted" to the

Sarvâstivâdin (all-things-exist-system), or realist School of the Buddhists in Kashmîr, and then to the Mahayanists, whence he propounded the Vigyânavâda (*vijñânavâda*) theory, that all phenomena are illusion and nothing but thought exists, not even the process of thinking. To be able to grasp this position he advocated the practice of *yôga*, long-continued meditation, whence the second member of this pair of philosophies is known as the Yôgâchâra (practice of *yôga*).

The philosophies, through the Schools, have greatly affected the educated classes, at any rate so far as to create a rough general acquaintance with them, and with their technical terms as a religious jargon. But the true source of such philosophic knowledge as the public has acquired is to be found in the popular *Purânas*. Essentially works dealing with cosmogony and genealogy and the beginnings of things—*archaeologia*—the *Purânas*, like the Epics, have been turned to sectarian uses, and thus contain such portions of the set philosophies as the sects have severally observed, which they put forward with more or less faithfulness to the originals. It is this agglomeration of inaccuracy that has been absorbed by the public as philosophy.

Whilst Muhammad was propounding his reform of the ancient Semitic faith that was destined to convulse the world, the political conditions under which the further development of Hinduism progressed after the expulsion of the White Huns were very confused. There arose the period of the rule over India, both North and South, of the now thoroughly Hinduised Râjpût clans, which had all adopted the Hindu law of conduct (*dharma*), and had been duly received into the fold, the ruling families as Kshatriyas and their followers in a gradation of castes below them In the North there was for a time an extensive Hindu Empire, governed from Kanauj under a great ruler, Harshavardhana or more shortly Harsha, an accomplished man of letters as well as their munificent patron. In the South-west there was the important Kingdom of the Châlukyas at Bâdâmî (Vâtâpi, in Dhârwâr), in the Deccan, and in the South-east that of the Pallavas at Kânchî

(Conjeeveram). But on the whole the country was cut up into small Râjpût States always at war with one another, so that there was no political personage or authority able to affect generally the development of Religion or Ethics. Jews were definitely settled in large numbers at Cochin on the West Coast of South India, and Muhammadan Arabs conquered Sind in the North, and also obtained a distinct footing along the West Coast in Kâthîâwâr, Gujarât and Malabar. It must be borne in mind that undeniable contact between Hinduism and Islâm had taken place by the early eighth century A.D., five centuries before Muhammadan influence became paramount after the conquests of the Persianised Turk, Shihâbu'ddîn Ghôrî; also that the Arabs had overrun Persia in the seventh century, usurping the Empire of Yazdajird III, the last Sâsanid puppet of the Persian magnates, "on whom had rested the God-given Royal glory of Ormuzd (Ahuramazda)," setting up the Abbâsid Caliphate of Baghdâd, and destroying the Zoroastrian religion, which slowly and quietly disappeared before Islâm, until it survived only as an insignificant sect in Îrân (Gabr, Jabr, Guebre and other corruptions; fire-worshippers), and as the religion of the small community of the Pârsîs of India. In the ninth century arose the eclectic theosophy of the Persian Sûfîs, a gnostic blend of the joyous ancient pantheism of the Persians with the fatalist monotheism of the mystics of Islâm chiefly, and in a subsidiary manner of most Indian, Asiatic and European beliefs.

Taken all round, and perhaps owing to the indeterminate political situation, Hinduism entered on an unsatisfactory period, largely the result of the tendency of the Hindu mind to over-elaborate and systematise, and the literature became thoroughly sectarian, undignified, pretentious and filled with the *odium theologicum*. The cult of Krishna as a god came into prominence at Mathurâ (Muttra), with all the sensuousness involved in the legends of his heroic and amorous exploits as a man, which were trotted out to capture the masses. It eventually produced two influential works: the *Bhâgavata Purâna* (ancient history of the Followers of the Lord) and

later the *Gîta-Gôvinda* (Song of the Cowherd, *i.e.*, Krishna). Generally speaking, both Hinduism and Buddhism became coarser and approached each other. But the latter, both in its pure and debased form, was widely spread by devoted missionaries East and South, to Burma, Siam, Cochin China (Cambodia), Annam (Champâ), and to Sumatra and Java, and also throughout the Central and Northern Continent of Asia as far as Siberia, Korea and Japan, under Harsha's encouragement, whose memory in consequence is still green in all those vast regions. Indeed the year 622 A.D. was an important one, in that it saw the foundation of Muham-madanism and the introduction of Mahâyâna Buddhism into Tibet. Some time previously the great Nâlanda School of orthodox Buddhism was founded in Bihar, and produced a long array of important scholars, but it was powerless to stem the general decadence. The period was, however, an opportunity for Jainism, and its comparative purity of precept and practice gave it that hold on the thoughtful mercantile classes which it has never since lost.

The aboriginal peoples were coming to be more and more completely under Hindu influences, with the result of a great extension of the caste system and the concurrent reflex action of tribal non-Aryan religious beliefs and practices on orthodox Hinduism. The counter-influence of the higher class of non-Aryan intellect, like that of the main Dravidian peoples, became insistent, and all the new influences between them changed Hinduism greatly from its former general aspect. In ritual there was a general decay of the old Vedic pantheistic sacrificial worship, which was replaced by worship at temples, public festivals, animal sacrifices and cults of new divinities, while other forms of a religious practice, far removed, outwardly at least, from the Vedic and old Brah-manic, became prominent. Highly organised sects increased indefinitely, sect-marks (*tilaka*) which were really specialised diagrams of magic power (*yantra*), sect-education and initia-tion (*dîkshâ*) with worship of sectarian teachers (*guru*), sect-watchwords (*mantra*), and sect-symbols also became charac-

teristic. In belief, occultism became an obsession in the form of a greatly extended faith in magic and spells, which was helped on by faith in hypnotic meditation on a new general phase of Hindu thought that changed the story of Hinduism, and gave it that turn which was found to be in such vogue when it came under systematic Western observation. This phase was the cult of the female energy in life (*shakti*), an extension of that primeval recognition of the mystery of the reproduction of life, which led to the use of the Shaiva emblem of the phallus (*linga*) as the representative of the godhead. So that the phallic emblem became both male and female (*linga* and *yôni*), leading in its turn unfortunately to very much that was mentally and physically degrading, and doing much harm to all Hinduism in the eyes of the inexpert on-looking world. Hinduism was thus split into three, not two, divisions as hitherto: Vaishnavism, Shaivism and Shâktism, the last largely permeating the two first, while each had its own manual, known respectively as the *Pâncharâtra Sanhitâ*, *Shaiva Âgama*, and *Tantra*. Except as to their cult of Kâlî, or Durgâ, Dêvî, Chandî, Kumârî and other subsidiary names as the female form of Shiva, with bloody sacrifice and much gross superstition borrowed from the magic of aboriginal tribes, the Shâktas were in all other respects essentially Shaivas, though Vaishnavas copied them as closely as they might; and they were themselves divided into two main groups, Right-hand (Dakshinâchâri) of respectable ritual and Left-hand (Vâmâchâri) of the most immoral practice. Un-fortunately, these last have left an indelible mark on sacred sculpture. The Mahâyâna Buddhists adopted the Shâkta cult, and many of them the *Tantras* also. In Tibet it became the form in which Buddhism has chiefly survived, causing it there to revert practically to the pristine Animism of the people with much degradation infused into it.

The idea of male and female gods is visible as far as one can go back in the belief of the Aryans, and has been con-sistently preserved in all branches of their descendants. It is visible also in all primitive religion and in all Animistic beliefs that have been studied. The concept of the god, his

wife, his sons, his daughters and his messengers, may be taken to be, therefore, a natural product of primitive human thought, which is necessarily anthropomorphic, and the interest in the conception of the goddess for the present purpose lies in its development in Hinduism. In Vedic times, and later, the goddess had no special qualifications separating her from the gods, and attributes peculiar to goddesses do not appear until the rise, still in early times, of the cult of Durgâ, the chaste virgin huntress, the Diana of the Vindhya mountains of Central India, the lover of wine, flesh and bloody sacrifice, the slayer of Mahisha (Mahishâsura), the demon bull-buffalo. In the *Mahâbhârata* she appears as the sister of the heroic Krishna. She is thus clearly a Central Indian aboriginal goddess brought into Hinduism in connection with the Krishna cult, but the analogy of the ancient and important Iranian (Persian) legend of Mithras, the Sun-god, whose cult eventually overshadowed philosophic Zoroastrianism, cannot fail to come into mind. Durgâ was also at this time regarded, therefore, as belonging to the *Vêdas* and as connected through Krishna with the *Vêdânta*, *i.e.* with Vaishnava Hinduism. In the next phase of her cult the Shaivas have captured her and she has ceased to be regarded as a virgin, being identified with Umâ of the Himâlayas, the wife of Shiva. She is next found in the *Purânas* as Chandî with a daily worship and an autumn festival, still the Durgâ-pûjâ so well known in Calcutta, the home of Kâlî, another name for her or for an ancient goddess identified with her. And at the same time arose a sect worshipping her as Dêvî (*The* Goddess) identified with Brahman, the Absolute, the One Reality, and so above all the divinities. Here then, in the blood and wine drinking expression of limitless power is the earliest appearance of *shakti*, the female energy, representing the living productive form of the inactive, unknowable, unapproachable Absolute. From this sect of Durgâ-worshippers were evolved the all-pervading Shâktas.

The Shâkta System, though it commenced with the wife of Shiva, was extended to any goddess, and at bottom the

concept was this. The Supreme Brahman, as represented by Shiva, is unknowable and unapproachable and entirely inactive. It is his spouse (*shakti*) who is one with him, that is active and is the origin of the material world (*mûla-prakriti*, the original Nature), which is caused by her unfolding. She is also the source of divine grace and so more important to mankind than Brahman himself. In their philosophy the Shâktas followed the Sânkhya System as rendered theistic by the Yôga, and they elaborated the Yôga method of obtaining Release, by laying the chief stress of the discipline it inculcated on meditation and exercises connected with its mystic side, based firstly on the sacredness of the syllable *Ôm*, and thence of abstract sound (*shabda*), which is identified with the external world, as the spouse of Shiva (*Shiva-shakti*) co-equal with Him. The other basis was the assumption that the structure of the human body was a microcosm of the universe. This last concept led to an extraordinary gnosticism or pretension to true occult knowledge, dear to Shaiva *yôgis* and *yôginîs* such as the composer of the *Lallâ-vâkyâni*. Indeed, her references to the system are so numerous and so pervade her verse that it is explained in detail separately. The basis of the argument is that the Dêvî, as the spouse (*shakti*) of Brahman, lies asleep, coiled in the form of a serpent, round a *linga* representing him, situated in a particular circle of ganglia (*chakra*) in the pelvic generative region. The process of awakening the Dêvî and causing her to unfold by the help of Yôgic contemplation and exercises, which arouse the ever unobstructed sound (*Ôm*), brings Release and absorption into the Absolute as Shiva-Brahman. In this matter the Shaivas were so closely imitated by the Vaishnavas as to be not easily distinguishable. The fact is, this form of occultism pervaded Hinduism. In Hindu ritual Shâktism introduced the general use of three most prominent characteristics. Firstly, the great value put on the *mantra*, or spoken charm, owing to the identification of the Dêvî with Sound, which gave special power to the spoken word and made the *mantra* worshipped in the highest degree. Secondly, the extended use of mysterious diagrams (*yantra*)

as powerful charms to ensure the protection of the divinities they represent. And lastly ritual gestures with the fingers (*mudrâ*) for bringing the Dêvî into the body and thereby sanctifying it.

It will have been perceived that, as a result of Shâkta doctrine and ritual, Hinduism tended to lose everything that was lofty in its character and thought, but the South came to the rescue so gallantly as to have had an important saving effect. Vaishnava Hinduism of the purer type had become largely Tamil in form, though this statement does not mean that Sanskrit was neglected. A series of composers and singers of beautiful hymns, known as the Twelve Âlvârs, popularised Vaishnavism among all the Dravidian people in the Tamil language, and had so lasting an influence that their hymns are still sung in most Vaishnava temples. The Shaivas did not lag behind in this matter and produced the Three Adiyârs (also Nâyanârs), the authors and singers of similar hymns, who in addition danced ecstatically before images of Shiva and made him popular as the Dancing Lord. The cultured author of the collection known as the *Tiruvâchakam* (sacred utterances) was also a Shaiva ascetic. In the North, the Vaishnavas had the rhapsodical *Bhâgavata Purâna* and the erotic *Gîta Gôvinda* already mentioned. In philosophy the Bhâgavatas put the doctrine of the female energy to a clever use. They made the Adorable Lord's spouse, Lakshmî, his energetic power (*shakti*), and looked on her as one with him, and then proceeded to ignore her, because in speaking of him they were necessarily speaking of her. They also adopted the theory of Incarnation, and they could thus give a special sense to the Hindu doctrine of the Trimûrti (Triad) and turn it into a true Trinity, *viz.*, the Adorable, the impersonal God working as a personal God through His Incarnations, conceived as male, and also through His Energy, conceived as female. The affinities of this conception to that of the much older early Christian view of the Trinity have been already pointed out.

Generally speaking, the philosophy of the time, which still

aimed at final Release, by this time usually termed Salvation (*mukti*), was in the hands of certain universally acknowledged leaders (*âchârya*, systematic teacher), who were all *sannyâsîs* (ascetics renouncing the world), heads of schools and sects and commentators on the recognised Scriptures (*shruti*) or the Scriptural Traditions (*smriti*), at the same time strongly opposing Jainism and Buddhism. The result of the *Vêdânta-Sûtras* already mentioned was to make the Vaishnava Vêdânta the chief School of the day. The great Vêdânta leader, though not by any means the first exponent of the Vêdânta, was Shankara or Shankarâchârya, a South Indian (Travancore) Shaiva Sannyâsî ascetic of commanding capacity, who advocated pure monism (*advaitavâda*, non-individuality system): that is to say, that, though a Shaiva, he held the only Reality to be not Shiva but Brahman, the Absolute; that the soul (*âtman*) is not only eternal, whole and undivided, but actually identical with Brahman; and that therefore the material world is Illusion (*mâyâ*). But he accepted the doctrines of Incarnation, the Vaishnava Trinity as manifestations of the Supreme, and the worship of the images in the temples. It will be perceived that the tendency of Shankarâchârya's doctrine is a practical reversion of the old belief in an impersonal God. His great service to Hinduism was, however, that he was able to influence all India through long continued controversial missionary tours all over the country, even to Kashmîr, so as to weld the innumerable sects and ascetic orders of his day together into something like a homogeneous body, and to found schools and places of learning in widely separated localities, though the theists found it difficult to assimilate his monistic teaching. Even Shaivism generally succumbed and became ostensibly monistic (*advaita*), though its teachers held the Absolute and the Soul to be distinct and denied the Incarnation, while admitting the Manifestation of Shiva to his worshippers. But it was during a tour among the Shaivas, already well in force in Kashmîr, that Shankarâchârya's teaching attained that influence which is reflected in the *Lallâ-vâkyâni*. After that the Shaiva doctors there began to teach monistic (*advaita*) in place of their orthodox

dualist (*dvaita*) doctrines, and to depend on a discipline (*yôga*) of continuous recognition of the soul's identity with Shiva, though they did not treat the material world as illusion (*mâyâ*), but as a manifestation (*âbhâsa*) of Shiva through his female energy (*shakti*).

In addition to the Bhâgavatas the important Vaishnava sect known as the Smârtas, *i.e.*, followers of the household rites preserved in the Tradition (*smriti*), which were simpler than those enjoined in the textual Scripture (*shruti*), were almost natural adherents of Shankarâchârya's teaching. While philosophically preaching the equality of Vishnu and Shiva in a notable form as Harihara (Preserver-destroyer), they inculcated the ritual worship, which subsequently became so widely known, at the household shrines, of the Five Gods (*pancha-dêva*) as representatives of the whole Vedic pantheon. The idea of the Five Gods seems to have arisen out of that of the Triad on a gradual falling of Brahmâ out of prominence. Thus, under the principle of the female energy of life (*shakti*), the Triad are given goddesses as wives: to Brahmâ, Sarasvatî, learning: to Vishnu, Shrî or Lakshmî, fortune; to Shiva, Umâ daughter of Himâlaya, the Snowy Mountains, who has also the now better known names of Pârvatî, Durgâ, Kâlî, or Bhavânî. To these were given two sons, Ganêsha of the elephant-head, the god of beginnings, with a general similitude to the Roman Janus, and Kârttikêya, with the even better known synonyms of Subrahmanya, Skanda, or Kumâra, the god of war. These two with the Triad made the Five (*pancha-dêva*). But by the time of Shankarâchârya the Five had become Vishnu, Shiva, Durgâ, Sûrya (the Sun), and Ganêsha, as objects of a very prominent cult. The Smârtas worshipped them chiefly, but recognised the whole pantheon as well, and so when Shankarâchârya came with his orthodoxy and his theory and cult of the Absolute behind all the gods, the Smârtas readily adopted his doctrines.

The teaching of Shankarâchârya has so affected all contemporary and later Hinduism that it is advisable to relate briefly the tenor of its chief doctrines. Only the Absolute (Brahman) exists, and with Him the soul (*âtman*) is identical:

"That Thou art" (*tat tvam asi*). This being against experience, he taught that there are two forms of Truth, the supreme truth and the truth of experience, just as there is the Supreme (Para-Brahman, the Higher Absolute, God, the Unknowable Spirit), and the World-Soul or personal God (Apara-Brahman, the Lower Absolute), who is the same being as the Supreme. Experience is man's knowledge of the material world, which is necessarily Illusion, since the only Reality of existence is the Absolute Supreme Soul. Experience is therefore Ignorance and not Knowledge. Release (*mukti*) is attainable by realising the difference between Ignorance and Knowledge through study of the *Vêda* and *Vêdânta*. Release does not come upon the realisation, but upon the death of the man who has realised. "Brahman he is and into Brahman is he resolved." Works cannot do more than prepare a man for Release, and only result in securing a bettered transmigration for his soul. Therefore the seeker after Release seeks it only through Knowledge, and gives up everything else in the world, even the sacred thread (*janêu*, *upavîta*) of initiation into Hinduism. Shankarâchârya has been accused of being a covert Buddhist, and it is probable that he was influenced by the philosophy of the Mahayanists. Nevertheless he accepted all the main features of orthodox Hinduism, and finally became a staunch upholder of the religion in the popular form, which he had set out to contemn.

Undoubtedly the long period of political distraction that succeeded the Gupta Empire was a time of general growth in religious thought in many rival directions, and consequently of a confusion difficult to unravel, as the more active influences each tended to control Hinduism and naturally succeeded in leavening it considerably. Thus we have the general philosophic influence of Shankarâchârya's teaching, extending his monistic doctrines and the purer forms of Hinduism, the permeating mischief of the Shâkta reversion to the grosser Animistic worship that formed its basis, and the mingling of Scripture and Tradition by the Smârtas. There is also to be considered a fourth general influence, this time foreign,

in the worship of Sûrya the Sun, inculcated by a sect called the Sauras (belonging to Sûrya) and seen also in the then recent inclusion of Sûrya among the Five Gods. The connection of the ritual of Indian and Persian Sun-worship and the Hindu descent of the philosophy of the Indian form of it have already been pointed out, and the whole situation may now be stated thus. The worship of the Sun as a god is both ancient Iranian and Vedic Aryan; witness the great Vedic hymn to Savitri (the Sun), the *Gâyatrî*, still a chief power among the Hindus, and the dating of the Indian Sauras back to the Epic times, when Sûrya is already found to be identified by his worshippers with the Absolute (Brahman), and ascetics to be seeking Release through meditation on him. But in the *Purânas* his cult shows affinities with that of the Persian Sun-god Mihira (the Sanskrit form of Mithra), and the priests of the Sauras were called Magas (Magi, old Persian *magu*, *mugh*), and were spoken of and recognised as the Brâhmans of Shâkadvîpa (Scythia, *i.e.*, to the Indians Îrân or Persia), and their worship was Iranian in form. By Shankarâchârya's day the Sauras had become numerous and important, their cult spreading all over the country and finding its way into the practices of contemporary Shaivas, Vaishnavas, Bhâgavatas, Smârtas, Shâktas and even Jains, in fact everywhere.

The general outcome, however, of the Hinduism preached in the days of Shankarâchârya was the worship of a personal God combined with that of images as representatives of the gods, and an extensive adoption of the practice of burning widows on their husbands' funeral pyres, those who went through the ordeal being recognised as hâving done what was right (*satî*, right, virtuous)[1].

But the poison of Shâktism entered only too largely into Mahâyâna Buddhism. Every Buddha and every Bôdhisattva was provided with a wife (*shakti*); the old Mahâyâna term (*vajra*), meaning both thunderbolt and diamond and used symbolically to denote power and high value, was turned

[1] The Anglicised term "Suttee" is usually applied to the ordeal, but the Indian "*satî*" was applied to the woman who went through it.

into the *phallus* as the distinctive emblem of the Tântric system, long identified with Mahayanism; and the whole of the teaching, however degrading and obscene, of the Hindu Shâkta *Tantras* was copied into the Buddhist *Tantras*, until there remained nothing to choose between them. Some of the Buddhist "goddesses," such as Târâ, Shâktic wife of Avalôkitêshvara, came into general vogue, and the Mahâyâna system of spells (*dhâranî*) was greatly extended by making the mere repetition of them efficacious, leading to the well-known use of prayer-wheels and rags on trees and bushes, which repeated on behalf of the users the spells they contained indefinitely by mere mechanical agitation and fluttering in the wind. Sacred utterances (*mantras*), under the Shâkta system, became omnipotent spells and identified with the embodiment of female energy (*shakti*) attached to sacred beings. That of the great Bôdhisattva Avalôkitêshvara became very famous: *Ôm mani padmê hum*, usually translated with doubtful accuracy by "the jewel in the lotus": *Ôm* and *hum* having no specific meaning and being therefore, as already explained, the more holy and efficacious. On the other hand the Jains remained singularly free from Shâktism, and did not go beyond recognising the existence of goddesses and worshipping them but not as Shaktis, and accepting the doctrine of the microcosm in the human body without giving it prominence. As has been already noted, this immunity from the Shâktic poison has been of lasting service in keeping Jainism alive.

The story of Hinduism has now been carried to the close of the first millenium of Christianity and also of the first four centuries of Islâm. The situation, or rather atmosphere, which was the immediate cause of the religion of the authoress of the *Lallâ-vâkyâni* is therefore reached. Up to 987 the Muhammadan successors of the Arab conquerors were confined to the Trans-Indus country, but in that year Amîr Sabuktigîn of Ghaznî in Afghânistân, an emancipated slave of the Mamlûk type so familiar in the Near East, *i.e.*, a military leader kidnapped from his original country and

forcibly converted to Islâm, invaded the Panjâb, but was overthrown by a Râjpût combination. In 997, however, his son, the famous Mahmûd of Ghaznî, succeeded and was the first Muslim chief to take the title of Sultân. He vowed a holy war (*jihâd*) against the idolaters of India, and invaded it some fifteen times between 1000 and 1026, but he did not achieve more than the retention of the province of Lahore out of all the regions he had overrun. His dynasty was expelled 160 years later by Shihâbu'ddîn of Ghôr near Herât, under whom the Muhammadan conquest of Northern India was effected in 1193, somewhat more than a century before the advent of the propounder of the *Lallâ-vâkyâni*. It is a mistake to suppose that Mahmûd of Ghaznî was merely a wild ruthless destroyer. Fanaticism and greed no doubt induced him to raid, but he lived a magnificent life and was a great builder and a noted entertainer of Muhammadan poets and men of learning. To his munificence and love of research Persian epic poetry owes the *Shâhnâma* (Story of the Kings) of Firdûsî, and the Oriental world the important *Memoir on India* of Al-Bîrûnî, the mathematician-astronomer and searcher into Hinduism, who accompanied him in his Indian expeditions. From the time that Shihâbu'ddîn Ghôrî and his lieutenants overran Northern India, the whole country as far south as the Kistna river in the Deccan may be said to have known no peace at all for 350 years—not indeed till the sixteenth century and the days of the great Mogul (Mughal, Mongol) Emperor Akbar, and even then only in a distinctly modified form. It was during these centuries of trouble, when the land of the Hindus was in the throes of passing into the political power of the Muhammadans and of all that was involved in the process, that what is now known as the Mediæval Reform of Hinduism took place, making that religion what it is to-day. The reform really grew out of the general atmosphere, and the *Lallâ-vâkyâni* were an early expression of one phase of it. Islâm had every opportunity of taking a share in its evolution.

All the early Muhammadan rulers in India were adventurers, and nearly all were of the Mamlûk type, of varying national

origin. They were necessarily men of great ability and strength of character, the "Slave Kings" of Delhi in the thirteenth century being typical examples. Their rule meant days of terror to the Hindus, though some of them were conspicuous patrons of literature, naturally Muhammadan. They were cruel, but however inexcusable the many cruelties they perpetrated may have been, their destructive zeal was due to fanaticism. It was a duty to God (Allâh) in their eyes to abolish all images and all institutions of any religion not after their own pattern, and with them disappeared the long days of toleration which had so distinguished the rulers of India. Such a state of things long continued could not but have an influence on a people such as the Hindus, when subjected to it, especially as wherever the lieutenants of the great kings went, they erected and endowed mosques, colleges and other religious institutions, whilst destroying every existing thing of the kind that was Hindu and stood in their way. Influential Muhammadan Saints of high standing from outside were encouraged to settle and create a following all over the country, and there were many of these in the early Muhammadan centuries, beginning with Ghâzî Sâlâr (Ghâzî Mîyân) of Bahraich in Oudh in the time of Mahmûd of Ghaznî. Their influence was enormous, both over the newly-converted Muhammadans and the professed Hindus. Buddhism disappeared for good in the very first years of Shihâbu'ddîn's conquest (1193), when one of his lieutenants, Bakhtiyâr Khiljî, took Bihâr and brought to a pathetic end the last monastery of Buddhist monks there, which was still flourishing under the patronage of the local Pâla Dynasty of Bengal. The Khiljîs, who were Turks (Turkmân, Turcoman) of Central Asia, and the Tughlaks, who were of a mixed Turkmân and Indian origin, ruled in Delhi all through the fourteenth century in Lallâ's time, to be wiped out by the awful raid and sack of Delhi by Tîmûr Lang (Tamerlane) in 1398, and the setting up there of the Sayyid Dynasty till the middle of the fifteenth century. In 1294 the fanatical, cruel, arbitrary, yet capable 'Alâu'ddîn Khiljî made a successful attempt to extend the Muhammadan power south-

wards, through the renegade from Hinduism and withal energetic eunuch slave, Malik Kâfûr, whose high military capacity he utilised to overrun the Deccan with an atrocious tyranny that has never since been forgotten. Later on, up to the middle of the fourteenth century, there ruled at Delhi an unbalanced, but remarkably capable man, Muhammad Tughlak, who has been described as "learned, merciless, religious and mad." He was also an accomplished scholar in Arabic, Persian and Greek philosophy and learning of all kinds. He terribly harassed the country for twenty-five years from the Deccan to Nêpâl, forcing his fanatical will on every one, while his own opinion of himself was that he was a perfectly just ruler and that, to use his own expression, to obey him was to obey God (Allâh). This assertion of the doctrine of the Divinity of Kings was perhaps the result of Muhammad Tughlak's Greek studies, for it goes back to early Greek philosophical teaching, and was used with great effect by Alexander the Great in Persia, so that he might proclaim himself to be "the Law" and thus officially a god ruling by divine right, a convenient doctrine copied by many monarchs in the Near East: notably by Alexander's successors the Seleukids, witness Antiokhos Theos, and their successors the Parthians, witness Phraates III in the century before Christ, and by several Baktrian and other rulers on the Indian borders in the centuries following. The doctrine is barely dead in Europe yet. Fortunately for India, however, Muhammad Tughlak's successor was Fîrôz Shâh Tughlak, a man of peaceful ways and lofty character, who reigned for the next thirty-seven years up to 1388. The greater part of Lallâ's days must have been passed while these two powerful monarchs were influencing life in its every aspect throughout North India, and it was specially under the scholarly Muhammad Tughlak that the literature of Islâm naturally flourished in all its branches. But Muhammadan influence was not by any means confined to the Khiljîs and the Tughlaks during the fourteenth century. In the latter half of it there was the great Bahmanî Dynasty that ruled in the Southern Deccan from sea to sea, and others were established in Khândêsh and Gujarât, also in the Deccan, and in Bengal, at Jaunpûr in the North, at Madura in the South for half a century, and even at Râmêshvaram (Ma'abar) in the extreme South, for forty years. In Kashmîr itself, through all Lallâ's life, the reigning dynasty was Muhammadan, producing in the first half of the fifteenth century Zainu'l'âbidîn, the Iconoclast. Hindus were in power in fact hardly anywhere in Lallâ's day, except in some parts of Râjpûtânâ, and also in Orissa and in the South, where the great Vijayanagar Empire had come into existence from 1347, and the Reddi Dynasty at Kondavîdu in 1328. So the point is that the Hindu Reform Movement of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was carried out under an active and overwhelming Muhammadan influence, directed oftener than not at conversion of the people to Islâm by force and otherwise. Muhammadan ideas must have permeated deeply.

Then at the end of the fourteenth century came the catastrophe of Tîmûr's (Tamerlane's) invasion of North India. Tîmûr was a Mongol by descent, Mughals as these people were called in India, and his attack was really the culmination of a history of raid, invasion and settlement for a hundred years previously. The Mongol tribes of Central and Western Asia had become united at the end of the twelfth century, under a single ruler locally known as Chinghîz Khân, and driven apparently by the ever-increasing desiccation of their habitat, spread East and West and South, ravaging and destroying wherever they went, in the old-established fashion of the Central Asian hordes in Europe, Persia, India and China, and ending by setting up in an extraordinarily short time, also in the old-established fashion, some of the most highly civilised kingdoms that the world has seen. Tîmûr sacked Delhi without mercy, and so thoroughly did he ravage the country that an awful famine and pestilence followed in his wake. Cruel and savage as he frequently was, Tîmûr was nevertheless anything but a savage by training, having been brought up at Samarkand as the head of his Tribe (Barlâs) in an atmosphere of scholarly Muhammadanism of the Arab type, in which his father and grandfather had

delighted, and he combined in himself an inherited military capacity and the cultivated taste of the attentive reader. For 150 years before Tîmûr there had been Mongol Ilkhâns (nominal Viceroys) ruling in Persia as highly cultured monarchs, at first under the combined influence of Syrian and Greek Christianity and Islâm, with finally a general conversion to the latter faith, until Tîmûr made himself felt from the Irtish and the Volga to the Persian Gulf and from the Hellespont to the Ganges, founding at last his short-lived Tîmûrî Dynasty of Persia.

Thus the body known as the Mediæval Hindu Reformers worked under conditions of almost irresistible Muhammadan influence, which had brought about one lasting social effect detrimental to the whole country—the seclusion of the women of the upper classes. Mainly in self-defence, the more highly-placed Hindus began to seclude their women, and the custom has since universally descended as low down the social scale as family funds will permit. The Zenâna System of India, which has done so much injury to many millions of human beings, dates from the insecure time for Hindus in the early days of Muhammadan domination, and its origin accounts for the tenacity with which it is maintained by the women most affected by it.

Though on the whole the years of the thirteenth century onward, till long after Lallâ's lifetime, make up a period of perpetual war with indiscriminate, merciless fighting, it does not follow that individual towns and villages saw a great deal of it. What happened was much this from the personal point of view of the ordinary Hindu that lived under it. He and his were left alone to do as they pleased socially, with recurring intervals, not necessarily close together, of sheer nightmare, times of overwhelming horror, which they regarded much in the light of the epidemics and famines to which they were always liable. As each bad period passed by, life recovered its ordinary routine more or less completely. Sometimes, of course, there was no recovery, and what was left of the villages and towns departed miserably elsewhere, but this was by no means commonly the case. Among the troubles

that afflicted the Hindus were the forcible methods of conversion adopted by the Muhammadans: by the sword, by taxation, by the administration of the law, by terrorism, by immigration from the West and by intermarriage. In a desperate hope for easier times, whole tribes went over to Islâm, at any rate nominally, and many existing Muhammadan families trace their "conversion" to this period, and as a matter of course under the caste-system the mixed families of Muslim immigrants could not be Hindus. All this produced its effect on Hinduism, for Buddhism disappeared for ever and Jainism lay low. Especially effective were the destruction of temples and religious foundations, which drove the religion to the home and its simple faith, and the doctrine in the Muhammadan creed, "There is no God but God," paraded publicly before minds already imbued with the monistic teaching of the Vaishnavas and the many Hindu Schools roused to activity by Shankarâchârya, and those who followed him in the South because the North was made so difficult for Hinduism, would readily sink in. On the other hand, the mode of conversion adopted by the Muhammadan invaders naturally brought about its own revenge, and re-acted on their form of Islâm. The converts, and through them their foreign leaders, were unable to resist the Hindu philosophy and trend of thought. It was this modified influence of the Muhammadan flood over Hindu India on religious practice and belief that was reaching its full height at the period of the *Lallâ-vâkyâni*. The fourteenth century A.D. was thus a most important time in the history of India, ethically as well as politically.

About 150 years after Muhammad had propounded his religion, there arose in Islâm the gnostic movement of the Sûfîs, already referred to. They were eclectic in the highest degree and not orthodox, being imbued with outside influences, European and Asiatic, and even with Hindu thought. The Sûfî tended to identify himself with God, like the early Hindu, and to lose his individuality after death in eternal companionship with God. His object in this life was to escape from individuality in order to realise that God is the

only reality. His practice to this end came very near to the
Hindu Yôga, and to him, as to the Manichæans of Persia
before him, all religious systems tended to become unreal
and of equal value. It is not difficult to understand that the
yôginî of the fourteenth century, such as Lallâ, in lifelong
contact with Muhammadanism, should quickly and deeply
absorb such a line of thought; for her contact was constant
and close, as she was not only the contemporary, but a friend,
of the Persian Sayyid 'Alî Hamadânî, the Muslim apostle
of Kashmîr in 1380–1386, introduced by the Muslim dynasty
then ruling there. Indeed, the most interesting point in
Lallâ's life is that here we seem to get a glimpse into the
trend of the Indian mind that produced her successors, the
Mediæval Reformers, and gave them the enormous sway
they have wielded over all religion in India, Hindu and
Muhammadan, in their own and even the present day. The
basis of Sûfîism was a gloomy fatalist Arab mysticism among
the educated classes, modified by Greek philosophy in the
stages of Neoplatonism and Gnosticism and by early Christian
asceticism, also by Indian thought, probably through Bud-
dhism of the Hinduised Mahâyâna type imbibed in Persia,
where Sûfîism became further modified by the warm native
Pantheism as preserved in the Mazdaist modification of the
ancient Zoroastrian faith: a truly eclectic blend of ideas cal-
culated to create that mystic Gnosticism everywhere dear to
the Oriental mind, as it had become developed in the Middle
Ages. The Sûfîs conceived God as a personality working in
the human heart, Whom it was possible to know by means of
an ascetic world-renouncing life (*fakr*, whence *fakîr*, ascetic).
Some indeed, like the Hindus, actually identified the human
self with God, and their state of bliss after death (*fana*) meant
everlasting life in God with loss of individuality. The path,
or way of life (*tarîkat*) to be followed in order to reach the
knowledge (Greek *gnôsis*) which brings about the desired
union with God (*al-hakk*, the real) is preferably, but by no
means necessarily, the ascetic one, involving, as in the case
of the Hindus and early Christians, implicit obedience to the
teacher (*shêkh*, leader; *pîr*, saint; *murshid*, guide), and the

carrying out of practices which strongly reflect the Indian
yôga (discipline), with the same object of securing freedom
from individuality and of realising God as the only reality.
All this is so Indian, both in thought and practice, that Hindu
ascetic leaders of philosophy would readily sympathise with
it and absorb it. Sûfîs existed in numbers in Persia and India
long before the days of Lallâ and the Reformers who followed
her in the succeeding centuries, and were always influential
among those who thought and loved esoteric doctrines hidden
from the public. The Sûfîs necessarily raised opposition very
dangerous to themselves among orthodox Muhammadans,
and so had to veil their meaning as much as they might in
their writings and speech. This they managed by the pro-
duction of apparently violently erotic poems, having an
esoteric religious meaning attached to the terms expressing
carnal love and delight in wine, with which they filled them.
This also was a procedure which would greatly appeal to the
Indian mind that affects literature. No doubt, therefore, the
Sûfîs must have largely influenced those with whom they
came in contact.

When, however, the final period leading up to the times
that could produce such a series of verse as the *Lallâ-vâkyâni*
began, Hinduism was still chiefly under the influence of
Shankarâchârya's teaching among the more cultured of the
Tamil popular singers, the Vaishnava Âlwârs and the Shaiva
Adiyârs including Mânikka Vâchakar, among the populace in
the South, and of the *Bhâgavata Purâna*—largely echoing
these songs—ultimately in the North. The Hindus had
steadily preached to them a warm emotional doctrine of
devotional faith (*bhakti*), which the people could grasp and
appreciate, and thus was paved a way for a powerful opponent
to Shankarâchârya in Râmânuja, who propounded in Southern
India faith in and devotion to one personal God, more or
less distinct from the human soul in a partially material
world, as against Shankarâchârya's illusory world and one
impersonal God, absolutely identified with the human soul.
This was about a hundred years after the Muhammadan

invasions of Mahmûd of Ghaznî and about a hundred years before the Muhammadan conquests of Shihâbu'ddîn Ghôrî in the North, *i.e.*, midway between these two most important events. In the sequel Râmânuja's influence told on all Hindu sects as widely as Shankarâchârya's. In the South and in the Deccan, during the centuries immediately preceding the Muhammadan period in the North, both before and after Râmânuja's time (pivotal date about 1100 A.D.), there were several powerful and active Hindu dynasties, including Marâthî Râshtrakûtas in the Deccan and South India, and Tamil Chôlas, with remarkable rulers in Râjarâja Chôla and Kulôttunga Chôla, in the South, and various Râjpûts, some of them powerful, all over Central India. So Hinduism and also Hindu and Jain religion, literature and philosophy flourished greatly in those parts. And in passing it may be noted, that while Islâm was thus attacking Hindu India on its Eastern borders, it was itself being violently assaulted at its Western extremity by the Christian Crusaders of Europe.

The great figure in the Hindu religious world of the time was Râmânuja, who had been trained at Conjeeveram (Kânchî) in the School of Shankarâchârya, but he disagreed with his teacher and followed a modified monism taught at Shrîrangam in South India. Of this School of the Tamil Vaishnavas, known as the Shrîvaishnava, whose Brâhmans still bear the well-known and honoured names of Âchârya, or Aiyangâr, he became the head, as a celebrated teacher and controversialist of great authority. He attacked Shankarâchârya's system (*advaita*) with much skill, and substituted for it a philosophy apart, subsequently known as *Vishishtâdvaita* (modified nonduality). He visualised the existence of one God (Brahman), who is a personal Lord as Vishnu, or in the Vaishnava terminology as Nârâyana-Vishnu, and of personal souls subject to transmigration and many lives, obtaining Release from them and blissful intercourse with the Lord for ever by true knowledge of Him, acquired from the Scriptures through warm-hearted devotional faith (*bhakti*) and constant meditation (*upâsana*). The seeker after Release need not be an ascetic, as Shankarâchârya taught that he must be, but might

be any performer of the duties of life as a Hindu, so works (*karma*) were necessary for Release as well as knowledge, faith and meditation (the doctrine of *Samuchchaya*, combination). This doctrine, which became stereotyped in most sects of the period, involved also strict adherence to the rules and practices of "caste," though at the same time, all, even outcastes, could be taught faith (*bhakti*), but these were invested with the thread of purity (*pavitra*), and not with the thread of the "twice-born" (*upavîta, janêu*). Like Shankarâchârya, Râmânuja travelled all over India to Kashmîr and gained a similar power in the same way. But the great Chôla king Kulôttunga began to be unfriendly to the Vaishnavas, and Râmânuja had to withdraw to Mêlkôt (Yâdavagiri) in Mysore under the Hoysala Dynasty then in power there, returning to Shrîrangam on the death of Kulôttunga. It was Râmânuja's teaching that was at the back of Hinduism in the centuries preceding the ideas that led to the conception of the *Lallâ-vâkyâni*, and this largely because he was not the founder of his system, which is first heard of in embryo in the days before Shankarâchârya, just as the latter's own illusory monism came down to him through his spiritual grandfather Gaudapâda; and because it formed throughout India the basis of sect after sect of importance, each with its own Commentary (*Bhâshya*) interpreting the Scriptures, until his doctrines became ingrained in the people. Another important effect of this extension of sectarianism was the general use of the vernacular for religious purposes, literary translations from the Sanskrit becoming common everywhere to the depreciation of the classical sacred literature.

Râmânuja naturally appealed chiefly to the educated and philosophically inclined, who were nevertheless leaders of the people, but it was the *Bhâgavata Purâna*, growing out of the thoughts of many men of many sects, that reached the hearts of the public. Râmânuja's devotional faith and meditation were of the closet and unemotional, but the same doctrines were propounded by the composers of the *Bhâgavata Purâna* with all the emotional fervour that distinguishes those that speak from personal experience of religious realisation. In

the *Bhagavad Gîtâ* and in Râmânuja's teaching faith and devotion to the Lord (Bhagavân) are of the intellect: in the *Bhâgavata Purâna* they are directed to the Lord in the person of Krishna from a passionate heart expressing itself in the wildest emotion. The difference is fundamental. But besides this novel view of devotional faith, the *Bhâgavata Purâna* introduced, no doubt under the influence of the now long-established Shâkta doctrines, a great development of the story of Krishna and the Gôpîs (herdswomen), and used it to depict, in glowing verse of the highest sensuality, his dalliance with them. The mythical chief of them, Râdhâ, did not become his consort (*shakti*) and a goddess personifying female attraction till afterwards. This passionate presentation of the narrative aimed at stimulating devotion and faith (*bhakti*), because in the utter self-abandonment of love for Krishna, and later for the combination Râdhâ-Krishna, was thought to be found the most perfect symbol of faith itself. A similar combination of Sîtâ and Râma has also existed from about the same period, where Râma has come to represent the Adorable and Sîtâ (female virtue personified) to represent his spouse (*shakti*). Erotic verse thus came to be considered truly devotional poetry in its loftiest form, and the erotic terms in which it was conveyed the truest expression of religion. The dominating idea here is that of the practice of the Muhammadan Sûfîs, and it depends on doubtful dates whether the composers of the *Bhâgavata Purâna* preceded the Sûfîs or not. But if it be held, as it may well be argued, that they did, and that the faith expressed in the *Bhâgavata Purâna* is of South Indian origin, then the sequence of passionate faith and its expression is the dancing singers of the South (Âlvârs and Adiyârs), the *Bhâgavata Purâna*, the Sûfîs: however this may be, Hindu and unorthodox Muslim meet very closely here. This *Purâna* has always been immensely popular; sect upon sect arose out of it, and its influence on late Hinduism has been second to none. Among important Vaishnava sects the Bhâgavatas naturally accepted it, and so did the Marâthî Bhaktas (Faith Sect) and the Mâdhvas (followers of Madhvâchârya) in South Kanara and

in the Deccan, while the Vishnuvânîs of the South were the first to specially connect Râdhâ with Krishna, as the Nimbârkas of Brindâban in the North were the first to identify her as his consort (*shakti*), with Krishna, treated as the Adorable Lord, the eternal Brahman.

Development of the Shaiva sects also went on steadily up to Lallâ's time, and many of their thoughts and practices are reflected in her verse. The Pâshupatas, whose philosophical writings have been already explained, had "advanced" so far as to add to the usual exercises (*yôga*) and meditation, bathing in holy places (the idea of the purifying power of water carried to excess), and behaving as mad people by ecstatic dancing and singing, and by pretending sickness and even love-sickness, and here one suspects Sûfî influence. Another sect of ascetics, the Shâktic Kâpâlikas (skull-men), the religious ancestors of the present day Aghôrîs, added human sacrifices, strong drink, sexual license, dwelling among the ashes of the dead and the wearing of human bones as personal adornments (a very ancient savage mourning custom), and drinking out of human skulls, as a development in excess of the preceding practice. All this was in order to obtain Release, but a third Shaiva sect of the time, still strongly to the fore, has a very different history, now largely legendary—the Gôrakhnâthis, followers of Gôrakhnâth, a celebrated North Indian ascetic (*yôgî*) of the thirteenth century, identified by his sect with Shiva himself as Gôraksha, and nowadays the "patron saint," or perhaps more correctly the Hinduised personification of an ancient Himâlayan god, of the Gurkhâs of Nêpâl, so well known in the British Indian army. His devotees are known as the Kânphatâ (split-eared) Yôgîs, having an ascetic practice (*hatha-yôga*) of their own, not recognised by the more orthodox *yôgîs*, though working on the same general principles in order to acquire miraculous powers and of course ultimate Release. In philosophy a great School sprang up in the South, undoubtedly influenced by the literature of the older Kâshmîrî Shaivas of the extreme North, and known as the Shaiva Siddhânta (authoritative doctrine), using both Sanskrit and Tamil as its linguistic

medium. Here the main points for the present purpose are that the Sanskrit writers were Vishishtâdvaitin (modified monists in the Vaishnava sense) and that the Tamil writers preached a doctrine something like it. The School thus showed its eclecticism and the near approach of Shaivism and Vaishnavism in thought. The Tamil Shaivas produced some beautiful popular hymns, the *Devâram* (divine garland) of Nambi-ândâr-nambi, or shortly, Nambi, who was also connected with the Tamil Scriptures known as *Tirumurai* (Sacred Books), of which the favourite and most influential is the *Periya Purâna* of Shekkîrar (the Great Legend of the Sixty-three Tamil Saints). The approach of Shaiva and Vaishnava doctrines just noticed is visible again in the story of the two prominent and still strong sects that arose at this period, respectively in the modern Madras territories and among the Marâthâs of Bombay: the Vîra Shaivas, or Lingâyats to call them by their popular name, and the Vaishnava Mânbhâus (*mahânubhava*, of great experience). In the Carnatic (Karnâtak), where the people had long been either Jain or Shaiva, the Lingâyats were formed originally as a Shaiva attempt to win over the Jains: monasteries, religious and social equality within the sect, personal morality and devoted faith were to be the means. The reputed founder was Basava, a great political personage of the day, and his organisation was remarkable. Every village had a monastery and every monastery its Teacher or Guru, who came from a particular caste called Jangama. Shiva was the only god recognised and worshipped through the Jangama teacher, and his symbol, the *linga*, was worn round the neck by a small representation in a casket, whence Lingâyat (*linga*-wearer). There were no images; temples were not essential, and the dead were buried, not burned. They were vegetarians and total abstainers, allowed re-marriage of widows and forbad child-marriage: altogether a reputable body. The original feeling was against "caste," but the sect could not keep it up, or could only do so in a varying degree, and hence there were full, semi- and outcaste Lingâyats, graded chiefly according to approach to ordinary Hindu practice. Their philosophy was at bottom

Râmânuja's modification of Southern monism (*vishishtâdvaita*), influenced by the Tamil Shaiva Siddhânta, but the general tendency was to admit heterodoxy and to deny affiliation to Hinduism. Similarly the tendency of the Mânbhâus was towards distinct heterodoxy, and though they put Krishna, with a Triad (*Trimûrti*) incarnation called Dattâtrêya, in the place of Shiva, and so were Vaishnava and not Shaiva, their practice was identical with that of the essentially Shaiva Lingâyats in the points of worship of teachers, rejection of images and temples, burial of the dead, vegetarianism, total abstention, equality within the sect, and the surrounding circle of half converted groups, but of course the Mânbhâus wore no *linga*. In the days just before or about Lallâ's time, was seen, too, the beginning of a movement, carried to a much greater extent later on, to give the unsavoury doctrines of the Shâktas a philosophical or orthodox turn by etherealising the principle of Female Energy, putting down animal sacrifice in the temples of the Goddess (Dêvî), and treating her largely as a pure abstraction. Of this there are signs in the *Lallâvâkyâni* itself.

The Jains, as ever, kept themselves on the whole faithful to their original atheism, never absorbed the Hindu theistic speculations beyond giving their apostolic teachers (Tîrthakaras) the background of a vague eternal spirit, and avoided Shâktism. They were, however, so harassed by the advent of Islâm that they have never recovered the full weight of their old influence. But in and just before Lallâ's day, the hold of Shâktism over Mahâyâna Buddhism unfortunately became tightened and more foully erotic, and it would have died anyhow in India of the Shâktic poison spread through the *Tantras*, even without the violent intervention of Bakhtiyâr Khiljî and his Muhammadan soldiers. Tântrism left its poison everywhere: thus, out of Hindu philosophy generally and its own mythology the new Buddhism created the system by which it is now represented largely in iconography, sculpture and carving all over Northern and Central Asia. The scheme is that there is an Âdi-Buddha (original Buddha), who is an eternal self-existent being (*svayambhu*, self-born), and is

represented by the three corporeal bodies of Buddha—ethereal, celestial, and terrestrial—each in five forms derived from the Buddha himself, his three acknowledged and well-known, though mythical predecessors, and his looked-for successor. By his contemplative power (*dhyâna*), the Âdi-Buddha created the five Dhyâni Buddhas, who are unconnected with this world and dwell in thoughtful peace in *Nirvâna*, by this time a term for "Heaven." Each Dhyâni Buddha has a wife and a son, a Dhyâni Bôdhisattva, who, too, has never been a human being. Each Dhyâni Bôdhisattva has a wife and a son, a Mânusha Buddha, incarnated in this world and given a wife. As a rule, but not always, the Âdi-Buddha is looked upon as a personal god, which makes the whole system theistic in its nature. In this system Amitâbha is separated from Avalôkitêshvara, and becomes the present Dhyâni Buddha of this world with Avalôkitêshvara as his Dhyâni Bôdhisattva, and Siddhârtha Gautama (Shâkya Sinha), *i.e.*, Buddha himself, as a man, as his Mânusha Buddha. It is the wide distribution of this system at the present day that strikes the visitor and the student in Central and Northern Asia from West to East, and puzzles him so much in the iconography and sculpture that greet him in those regions, if he has informed himself of the abstract Buddhism of the text-books and of Southern Asia, *e.g.*, Ceylon and Burma. He is taught in the text-books that Buddhism is essentially an atheistic religion of a pure philosophy, and finds it apparently to consist in practice of rampant idolatry. The vehicle for conveying this form of Buddhism all over Mongolia, China, Korea and Japan has been the huge Tibetan Canon of about 300 volumes of text and commentary, all faithfully translated into Mongolian in the thirteenth century and written down in the modified Syrian (Nestorian) Aramaic character that forms the Mongolian script, under the great Mongol conqueror and Emperor of China, Kublai Khân, grandson of the Chinghîz Khân already mentioned.

We are now in the religious atmosphere breathed by Lallâ and the Hindu Reformers of the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries, and it can hardly be too clearly appreciated that their Reform was more the result of an universal growth than the work of any individual leader. There were in fact many leaders, some of whom were able to express the public feeling in felicitous language, and so became powerful and widely known. In her way Lallâ was among the earlier of these. In very general terms the Hindu sectarian religious practice and belief had evolved to this extent: belief in one God of love and pity for his worshippers with concurrent recognition of minor gods and their images, before or to which petitions could be offered for help in practical life; in an individual soul which is nevertheless part of the Divine Soul; in salvation by faith and devotion (*bhakti* in the sense of adoration); in teaching through the vernacular; in the guidance of set preceptors, who are specially exalted personages (*guru*, weighty); in initiation with a password (*mantra*) and a sacramental meal; and finally in the teaching of sectarian orders of ascetics. Râma and Krishna became rival names for the Lord (Bhagavân), *i.e.*, for God; the difference between them being that the latter name and its associations appeal more directly to emotional excitement. Certain persons appear as the principal general promoters of the thought and practice of the time: Râmânanda in the fifteenth century, just after Lallâ's date, a northerner of Benares converted to Râmânuja's sect; Kabîr, a most remarkable man and personal disciple of Râmânanda, of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries; Guru Nânak, Kabîr's contemporary and greatly under his influence, founder of the religion of the Sikhs (disciples) in the Panjâb, and in a sense as great as his tutor; Tulasî Dâsa, the immensely influential poet-apostle, in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, of devotional faith in God under the name of Râma. These formed a sort of hierarchy of teaching; but there were, besides, Chaitanya, of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, in Bengal, a contemporary of Kabîr and Guru Nânak; and also a very different personage, again his contemporary, Vallabhâchârya, with a return to a

dangerous erotic cult of Krishna of the Shâktic type. Profoundly as these individuals and the doctrines they supported affected the Hindus generally, it must be apprehended that underneath all the Hindu philosophies of the thoughtful and educated, and the veneer of Muhammadan teaching, there has run continuously from end to end of India, and still runs as strongly as ever, a rich vein of aboriginal Animistic superstition. To the everyday Hindu the unseen but ever present spirit, that can harm and sometimes help, is, and has always been, the mystical hero (*bîr*, *vîra*), the minor god (*dêva*) or godling (*dêvatâ*); to the Muhammadan he is the saint (*pîr*), and to the outcaste descendant of the aborigines simply the spirit, "devil" as the British have in latter years taught them to call him. All such beings, or rather creations of the mind, exhibit everywhere a strong family likeness, and they and the legends and ceremonies connected with them are to the illiterate public,—even now an overwhelming body in India, —as important as all the rest of their religious notions. Time, conquest and philosophy have brought this about in India, as a growth out of the original instinct, which the old Aryans managed many centuries ago to implant in the population at large: for the Hindu public a belief in a supreme God, plus the orthodox gods, plus the aboriginal spirits; for the Muhammadan public a belief in a supreme God, plus the Saints; for the aboriginal tribes their spirits, in the general body of which the Hindu gods and the Muhammadan saints are included; for all, a large body of occult superstition, that comes to the surface in legend and folklore and in the daily ceremonies connected with domestic and public events, and is based on the ancient beliefs and practices of the aborigines with whom the Aryans have come in contact from time to time in the course of a very long period. It is these superstitions and the rites based on them that most prominently strike the eye of the visitor from outside and thus are apt to mislead him as to the true thoughts, religious aspirations, and mental calibre of those who practise them.

Another consideration should also always be present in the mind of anyone who would read aright the earlier European

reports and criticisms on Hinduism. The Mogul (Mughal) Empire created by Akbar about 1556,—his predecessors Bâbur and Humâyûn never really exercised imperial sway,— and continued till 1707 by his great successors, Jahângîr, Shâhjahân and Aurangzêb, ended in a century and more of chaos caused by the struggles of local powers, Hindu and Muhammadan. And perhaps no one fact shows the effect on popular domestic affairs of the days of the intolerance inaugurated by Aurangzêb, and even before him by Shâhjahân in the earlier years of the seventeenth century, and of the general chaotic disturbance that arose on the death of the former, more clearly than the state to which religion was reduced among the peoples under the rule of the Mogul Empire. No proselytising by force or otherwise was able to turn them as a whole from their ancient faith, and they remained essentially Hindu; but after the days of the tolerant Akbar, the indifferent Jahângîr, the unstable Shâhjahân, at first tolerant and then intolerant, and the sympathetic Dârâ Shikôh,— Aurangzêb's elder brother who went down before him in the struggle for the throne in succession to Shâhjahân,—neither teacher nor reformer of note arose, until the days when the *Pax Britannica* became established after the nineteenth century had commenced. Tulasî Dâsa, the great poetical teacher of Salvation by Faith, died in 1623, and Dâdû, the theistic follower of Kabîr, the last to found a sect (Dâdûpanthî) of great consequence, died in 1603. After them, indeed, the sects and divisions of Hinduism lived on in places, but only after a fashion, under repression and discouragement, and the result was this. Scholarship sank low, and a coarse ignorant ritualism was the rule, covering a grossly immoral idolatry, with all its worst features on the surface; immolation of widows, hook-swinging, ascetic torture, prostitution at temples, and other unsavoury practices of superstition allowed to run riot. This was the Hinduism of the first days of British rule, and that which greeted the earlier British residents in the country and is described in their records: a very different form of religion from that which had gone before and that which was to come afterwards and to exist

at the present day; and very different, too, from that which appears in the poems of the *Lallâ-vâkyâni*.

About a century after Râmânuja, his followers split upon the doctrine of the divine grace and its influence on the soul, eventually with much mutual rancour, into two rival divisions, the Northern at Tiruvallûr (Trivellore) and the Southern at Nanganûr (Tinnevelly), both in Southern India. These Schools were known as the Monkey, the Northern School or Vadagalai, and the Cat, the Southern School or Tengalai: the Vadagalai teaching that the soul co-operates with the divine grace and the Tengalai that its influence on the soul is irresistible. The nicknames Monkey and Cat are descriptive and arose thus. The main doctrine is that there is a surrender (*prapatti*) of the soul to the combination comprised in *bhakti*, *viz.*, faith combined with love and adoration. So the Vadagalai became the Monkey School in allusion to the voluntary clinging of the young monkey to its mother, and the Tengalai became the Cat School in allusion to the kitten, without any volition of its own, being carried by its mother. From the Tengalai of the thirteenth century came by philosophic descent Râmânanda of the fifteenth century, so the doctrine in which he was brought up was that the position of the soul in regard to the surrender to God in faith, love and adoration was that of passive involuntary resignation to irresistible grace, in contradistinction from that of the voluntary co-operation propounded by the Vadagalai, which in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries produced a notable exponent in Vêdânta Dêshika of Shrîrangam in S. India, a prolific controversial poet and scholar, who roused much opposition and was in fact the chief cause of the split. It is never easy to pin any modern variety of Hinduism down to a definite descent, because of its liability to repudiation by any authoritative member that may be consulted[1]. It may, however, be said that Râmânanda and his successors were Vaishnavas of Râmânuja's Shrîvaishnava type; but by this

[1] *E.g.*, competent scholars, who may be right after all, have doubted whether Râmânanda was ever connected with the South.

time the Vaishnava division of the Hindus had become divided into four communities, each with its own tradition (*sampradâya*). Each of these communities was named after the personage, divine or human, from whom its tradition was assumed to be derived. Thus the Shrîsampradâya, the Community holding a modified monism (*vishishtâdvaita*), was named after Shrî or Lakshmî, the Shâktic wife of Vishnu, and was founded by Râmânuja; the Brahmasampradâya, the Community believing in dualism (*dvaita*), was named after Brahmâ, the Creator in the Hindu Triad or Trinity, and was founded by Madhvâchârya; the Rudrasampradâya, the Community believing in pure monism (*shuddhâdvaita*), was named after Rudra, *i.e.*, Shiva, and was founded by Vishnusvâmi; and the Sanakâdisampradâya, the Community holding a dualistic monism (*dvaitâdvaita*), was named after the Vedic sage Sanaka and his brethren, and was founded by Nimbârka. Râmânanda was trained in the Shrîsampradâya Schools of Râmânuja himself, which makes that Community of great importance in subsequent evolution, especially as his chief apostle was Kabîr, followed by Guru Nânak of the Sikhs, and later by the mighty poet, Tulasî Dâsa. To the Rudrasampradâya belonged Vallabhâchârya and Chaitanya, though this is denied. The Vaishnava Hindus' world thus became divided practically into modified monists and pure monists, the dualistic Communities being of greatly minor significance, while the Shaivas gradually fell into a comparatively small minority. It must be remembered, however, that Râmânanda's teaching and that of those that came after him, could not have affected Lallâ, because her date may be taken as between 1300 and 1400 and at the latest not after quite the earliest years of the fifteenth century, and Râmânanda's as between 1400 and 1470, while Kabîr flourished between 1440 and 1518 and Guru Nânak between 1469 and 1538. Tulasî Dâsa did not come on the scene till between 1532 and 1623. But it is, nevertheless, worth while to secure a clear view of their thoughts and proceedings in order to arrive at the nature of the religious atmosphere that produced Lallâ's "prophecy" and practice

It may be taken as correct to state that in Lallâ's time, as ever before and after it to the present day, the average Hindu belonged to one of three categories: the orthodox, who worshipped all the gods with the Vedic rites as modified by some kind of philosophy, monistic or atheistic, and usually Vaishnava; the sectarian, with a special theology, worshipping by a special cult the god of his sect as a personal Supreme, identified with Brahman, the Absolute; and the non-sectarian masses, who simply worshipped with customary service any local or specific god assumed to be of practical use for daily or occasional purposes. At the same time Lallâ's day was a period of extreme multiplication of sects and the consequent extension of their power over their members, which, owing to the action of Muslim rule from about two centuries after her date, as already explained, decayed and lost its hold, leaving the people to indiscriminate polytheism. In this last period the priesthood was represented by uneducated temple ministrants (*pujârî*), who possessed but shreds of the old knowledge hidden behind an ignorant ritual, and based on sheer superstition, which was their ancient inheritance. This state of affairs lasted until towards the end of the eighteenth century, when under British tolerance, Hindu thought and philosophy were once again able to assert themselves, old studies to be revived, and the consequent sects to come into the open and evolve fresh modification of old doctrines under new and powerful influences from without, this time chiefly brought to bear upon them by European Christianity. It was to a generation of Hindus, largely dominated by some sectarian thought or other, and often as not by a vague mixture of the doctrines of many conflicting sects, that Lallâ made her appeal in favour of her own Shaiva-Yôga doctrine, itself by no means free of Vaishnavism and even Islâm and Sûfîism. At the present day, under sect-revival, her "Word" (*Vâkyâni*) powerfully appeals to another generation of Hindus removed by many other generations from herself, because the religious conditions are again much those under which she lived.

Living then at a time when his co-religionists were ripe for the adoption of fresh sectarian doctrines, Râmânanda

came forward in the generation immediately succeeding Lallâ as a master teacher. He belonged to the School of Râmânuja, but he came about 350 years after his great predecessor, with many Vaishnava teachers of note and independent views on the general Bhâgavata doctrines between them—some of them still well remembered. There was, therefore, plenty of time for a considerable divergence to arise in detail between the ideas of Râmânuja and those of his remote disciple. The Shrîsampradâya Community founded by Râmânuja had always acknowledged all the incarnations (*avatâra*) of Vishnu and their consorts, among those chiefly worshipped being Krishna, Râma and Narasinha (the Man-lion taken from the human-animal metamorphosis of the Animistic belief), while Krishna with Râdhâ for consort was so prominent as almost to exclude the others. But Râma and his consort Sîtâ had also long been prominent in the North, where Râma generally represented the Supreme, and Râmânanda and all his followers are found to be worshippers of Râma and Sîtâ and their attendants to the exclusion of all others. So, although he was a member originally of the Community that Râmânuja himself formed, it was Râma, in the popular form of Râm, and not Krishna, or popularly Kishn, that was the name that he and all who came after him used in order to describe the Supreme, especially in Northern India. Râmânanda did not attempt to overturn caste as a system or to dethrone the Brâhmans from their customary priestly functions, but he carried freedom from caste-restrictions very far. For instance, he admitted men outside the "twice-born" castes and outcastes to his personal following, and even Muhammadans and women. This was not exactly an innovation, for in the century before him in the North, both Hindu and Muslim teachers had been willing to admit men and women of the opposing faith to their fellowship, on the Sûfî's ground of the equality of all genuine religious profession; and the general feeling among theistic Hindu sects had long been that men of all classes could obtain Release through faith. But it was a decided break with the rigidity of the Southern Hinduism of Râmânuja, even though Râmânanda and the sect founded

in his name were strictly orthodox in social matters as a whole, so far as they affected Hindus of "caste." Like the founders of Buddhism and Jainism and many other Reformers before him, Râmânanda used the vernacular to the exclusion of Sanskrit, and his followers, the Râmânandîs and those connected with them, set the fashion, ever afterwards largely followed, of teaching solely in the vernaculars, with accompanying vernacular titles for the Supreme, whether alone, as Râm and Kishn, or in combination with their Shâktic consorts, as Sîtâ-Râm and Râdhâ-Kishn and the rest. Philosophically Râmânanda's teaching was a compromise between theism and monism, *i.e.*, it was theism with monistic (*advaita*) doctrines constantly cropping up in it, much as they are found to do in Lallâ's theistic verse. He had a vivid faith in the one personal God, whom he called Râm, but he never broke with the old Hindu pantheon and mythology, the Brâhman priesthood or the worship of images. His great pupil, Kabîr, was the first to do that, and in spite of the fact that Kabîr did so and secured in his turn a very large following, the likeness of Râmânanda's general attitude towards Hinduism to that of the everyday Hindus of modern times cannot but strike anyone who is familiar with their ways of thought and practice. He has continuously wielded a very widespread influence, even on the non-sectarian householder, through Râmânandî ascetics (*vairâgî*, passionless), who have always been numerous, and through the members of some sub-sects of direct descent from him, including famous writers, such as the Râjpût Princess Mîrâ Bâî. But his greatest follower was Tulasî Dâsa of the sixteenth century, a converted North Indian Smârta Vaishnava Brahman, with strong caste feelings, who became an ascetic and the author of one of the greatest didactic poems ever composed in any Indian language —the *Râma-charit-mânas* (the Lake of the Deeds of Râma). It is written in Baiswârî or Eastern Hindî, and has made that dialect the distinctive vehicle for conveying the doctrine based on the conception of Râma as the representative of the Godhead, just as the followers of Vallabhâchârya raised the Braj dialect of Mathurâ and neighbourhood into the

vehicle for conveying the doctrines based on the belief in Krishna in a similar capacity. The work is really a vernacular version of Vâlmîki's ancient Sanskrit *Râmâyana*, so far as its structure and story is concerned, but mediæval Hindu in its religious aspect, *i.e.*, it is to some extent a medley and contains distinctly monistic ideas, although the God Tulasî Dâsa adored was a personal God of love. His extreme reverence for Shiva is a case in point and so is his acceptance of Hindu mythology, old and new, and his emphatic maintenance of caste and the other ancient Hindu institutions. But all this did not prevent him from conceiving and expressing a truly noble view of God, close to that of Christianity, with many of its ideas of the Divine Nature, including the love of God for the humblest, His sympathy and suffering for their sake and His readiness to forgive. Tulasî Dâsa, moreover, is never impure in word or thought, and he wrote with a dignity and power that has reached the heart of the people he loved through all time; but after all, he only expressed in lofty language the thoughts that were "in the air" in his own time and in that immediately preceding it, as did his predecessor Lallâ in many of her verses.

Râmânanda's great disciple, Kabîr, was of an origin totally different from that of the previous reformers of Hinduism, who were essentially ascetics of the priestly class, and he had none of the hereditary and traditional training which so hampered them. Whatever he was by origin, he was born in the humble position of a weaver, and it was the religious atmosphere that surrounded Râmânanda and his direct teaching that laid the foundation of Kabîr's faith, into which were infused the mysticism and philosophy of the Sûfîs. There is no doubt that Sûfîism had for some reason, perhaps early education and home influences, a real hold on him, and by whatsoever means this came about, it led to a mingling in him of Hinduism and heterodox Muhammadanism. Especially was he imbued with the cardinal Sûfî doctrine of the equality of all forms of religion, and this made him accept Râmânanda's Hinduism—transmigration and works (*karma*), illusion, magic,

release, renunciation, monism, the Absolute (Brahman), and the like—and at the same time denounce idolatry and ritual (as did Lallâ), incarnation, Shâktism, and ascetic practices of the Hindu type. He fearlessly proclaimed his criticisms in caustic verse of high quality and vigour, with the result that he met with the experience of Manichæus and was persecuted as a dangerous heretic by both sides, though he met with the better fortune of being allowed to die in peace and to be ultimately claimed as an adherent by both Hindu and Muhammadan. He was a strict theist, but followed Râmânanda in calling God Râm, though his God was entirely alone without attendant, incarnation or spouse, like Allâh of the Sûfîs and Islâm. The mixture of philosophic Hinduism and Islâm in Kabîr constantly creeps out: God is everywhere and in everything, but Man is God and yet not God; God's love for Man is the great thing to be realised, for it brings about renunciation and detachment from the world. His verses have so struck home that they still form a large part of the philosophy of the masses and so have made his work of the highest importance. Sects have sprung up in abundance ever since his day to popularise it, but the purity of their common teaching—worship of God alone, abandonment of idolatry and Hindu ritual, amalgamation of Hinduism and Islâm—has always been liable to give way under the pressure of the surrounding Hinduism and to revert to it, at any rate in many originally incompatible points. Kabîr's was a real "reform," and like all reforms it has proved difficult to maintain it intact against the conservative forces of reversion to the unreformed original. It has had, however, one lasting effect in India, in that it has created a mental attitude towards religion in general that has rendered it possible for the Hindu to grasp and appreciate the tenets of Western religious philosophy. At the same time it must be said that a study of Lallâ's sayings in the century before Kabîr will show that the germs of much that he taught with so great effect had already fixed themselves in the popular Hindu mind before he began to play upon it. Kabîr in one point followed a true Hindu instinct, that of extreme reverence for the teacher (*guru*), and this,

in the want of any definite concrete presence to worship, led his sectarian followers in some prominent instances into the dangerous practice of worshipping the teacher for the time being—a practice which, as will be seen later on, induced almost intolerable mischief in the case of the followers of Vallabhâchârya.

Kabîr delighted in driving home his doctrine in pithy vernacular verse, using any words, dialectic or other, that suited his purpose, and caring nothing how uncouth they might be or whence their source; and yet he gave his verse a wonderful lilt, and put forward his imagery in language so clear, that he immediately held his audience with an extraordinary power. A very well-known instance is the quatrain, in which he enforced the wisdom of being all things to all men, while holding on to one's own religious views:

Sáb-sê híliyê, sáb-sê míliyê
  Sáb-kâ lî́jiyê nấm;
Hấn jî, hấn jî, sáb-sê káhiyê:
  Básiyê ápnê gấm[1].

The sense and force of these lines I have ventured to convey to English readers in Kabîr's own rough and ready dialectic manner:

Every one meeting, every one greeting,
  Give every one his name[2];
"Yes, sir; yes, sir," say to every one:
  But bide in yer ain hame.

It has been pointed out to me that, in the century after Kabîr, Sir Thomas Browne (1605–1682) said in his *Christian Morals*, vol. I, p. 23: "Comply with some humours, bear with others, but serve none. Civil compliance consists with decent honesty."

Guru Nânak, the founder of the Sikhs (disciples), was a Panjâbî, reared in the religious atmosphere that produced

[1] In writing this text in Roman characters, the long vowels are marked by ^ and the accentuated syllables by ′. Pronounce short *a* as English *u* in *but*: long *a* as in *father*; long *e* as *a* in *fate*; long *i* as *ee* in *meet*. Pronounce *every* letter.

[2] There may be here one of the "double-meanings" dear to Indian writers: and it may be read to mean: "Accept every one's name for God."

Kabîr, and he was obviously influenced by that Master's teaching. Nânak was a typical product of his day, even in his eclecticism. He associated himself with all kinds of religious teachers, Hindu and Muhammadan, knew Persian and Hindî, besides his native Panjâbî, and was as well acquainted with the tenets of the Sûfîs as with those of the Hindu sects. He was a wanderer all over North India, gathering followers who could well understand and appreciate his clear and simple verse, which he sang to them in a judicious and captivating mixture of Hindî and Panjâbî, readily within the popular grasp. The religion he preached so assiduously was of his time and kind; *i.e.*, it was Kabîr's to all intents and purposes, and it therefore shows effectively the general trend of North Indian thought a generation or so after Lallâ's day. There is but one God, who is personal, eternal, spiritual, and can be worshipped by all manner of men, without reference to caste, in many ways, of which Hinduism and Islâm are but two. God can be known and loved, but from the heart and not through images, in the home rather than by asceticism, by morality of life rather than by forms and ritual. Here one sees Sûfî influence; but purely Hindu influence is also equally clear. For instance, he retained the whole Hindu pantheon, the monism of the Vêdânta, works (*karma*), transmigration, illusion (*mâyâ*) modified to delusion, but Release rather as union with God (Sûfîism) than as absorption (Hinduism); and like all religious leaders of his time, he taught the highest reverence for the teacher (*guru*). Yet he was essentially a humble-minded man and never thought of preaching that the teacher was an incarnation of the Deity. All this is not to say that Sikhism as subsequently developed remained as Guru Nânak left it, but it does give a pretty clear picture of the Sûfîised Hinduism of the Middle Ages to which Lallâ belonged. The leadership of the Sikhs, however, gradually became hereditary and political, and the theology and instruction was collected in one volume, the *Granth Sâhib* or Noble Book, with a partial return to Hinduism and the worship of the leader or Guru as the Supreme. The political position attached to the Guru naturally

led to Imperial opposition, and both Jahângîr and Aurangzêb put successive Gurus to death, acts which in their turn led the last Guru, Gôbind Singh, to create a formidable sectarian military force, that became a Community calling itself the Khâlsâ (pure), but known to Europeans and even Indian history as the Sikhs (disciples). Guru Gôbind Singh, foreseeing the dangers of the worship of the Guru as a divine incarnation, proclaimed the *Granth Sâhib* as Guru, but this, though it put an effective stopper on leader-worship, led the sect into bibliolatry, just as the Mahâyâna Buddhists of the later type had been already led under similar conditions: a state of affairs brought about in both instances by the pathetic feeling of the multitude for something concrete, something tangible to adore. Incidentally this worship was the beginning of the drift back into sectarian Hinduism, which is increasingly noticeable in the practices of the sect as time goes on. Bibliolatry is the outstanding feature also of the Dâdû-panthîs (*panth* translates into Hindî the Perso-Arabic *tarîkat*, religious path, of the Sûfîs), the only sect of this period based on Kabîr's teaching of sufficient importance for notice here. Dâdû was a Gujarâtî Brâhman, whose followers came mainly from Râjpûtânâ and have always remained much nearer ordinary Hinduism than either the Kabîr-panthîs or the Sikhs. For want of anything more tangible, manuscript copies of Dâdû's *Bânî* (poems) are worshipped with Hindu ceremonies.

Primâ facie it would now appear that a full view of the position that produced the religion indicated in the verses of the *Lallâ-vâkyâni* has been reached, but that is not quite the case. As has been already remarked, Râmânanda and the sects that arose directly and indirectly from his teaching were ultimately of the type of the Shrîsampradâya Community of the Vaishnavas, who followed a doctrine of modified monism, and the followers of Vallabhâchârya of Northern and Western India sprang from the Vaishnava Community of the Rudrasampradâya or pure monists. The actual founder of the Rudrasampradâya Community was Vishnusvâmi, the remains

of whose sect deny the religious descent of Vallabhâchârya's followers from their founder, either in belief or practice; but though the connection is very obscure, the fact remains that the bulk of Vishnusvâmi's sect have long been somehow absorbed by Vallabhâchârya's. Vallabhâchârya of the Rudra-sampradâya and Chaitanya of the Brahmasampradâya were almost exact contemporaries in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, and were therefore rather junior to Kabîr and Guru Nânak. They differed from each other both in method and in the results of their teaching, and greatly from Râmânanda and his following. Vallabhâchârya was born near Betiyâ in Bihâr and brought up at Benares. He claimed to be an incarnation of the Vedic god Agni (fire), though the system he advocated was practically an erotic Shâktism, with the combination Râdhâ-Krishna as the Supreme, covered by a philosophy of pure monism (*shud-dhâdvaita*). He had a son, Vitthalanâtha, who may be said to be the evil genius of the sect, for he constituted himself, or by some means became recognised as, its teacher (*guru* and also *âchârya*), identified with Krishna, *i.e.*, with the godhead, which position he made hereditary in his direct descendants, with all the attendant evils possible to such a situation. Among these was the showering on the teacher the wealth due from faithful worshippers (*bhakta*) to Krishna, which induced the Gurus or Âchâryas to live as princes (*mahârâja*), whence the title Mahârâja for these personages, and from them passed on to the sect itself. And then to this position was added Shâktic adoration of the Guru as Râdhâ-Krishna, leading to some of the worst erotic excesses that Shâktism has produced in India. The sect created by Vallabhâchârya was in fact a strong instance of the reversion to an earlier vicious type, under colour of reform, during a period when genuine reform was generally in progress: a phenomenon that has appeared elsewhere in the world.

Chaitanya was a Bengali Brâhman, who became a *sannyâsî* (world-renouncing) ascetic, obsessed with the passionate faith and devotion taught in the *Bhâgavata Purâna*, and though of the Brahmasampradâya Community, he came, like Valla-

bhâchârya, under the Râdhâ-Krishna influence, rousing his followers to devotional excitement by singing hymns (*san-kîrtana*) to his favourite combined deity, and by ecstatic dancing in public, which became exceedingly popular, showing here that mixture of Vaishnava and Shaiva practice that in the Middle Ages was typical of Hinduism. Like other religious leaders, he wandered all over India, finally settling at Purî in Orissa. He was neither an organiser nor a writer, and his philosophy, or rather the philosophy propounded for him, was unstable and secondary. He was thus essentially a revivalist, gaining his power over the emotions of mankind by the sincerity and passion of his religious feeling and conviction, and his use of the Râdhâ-Krishna love-story to reach the hearts of his hearers. Herein he differed fundamentally from Vallabhâchârya, as he was too pure-minded to take any but a noble view of a folktale that is otherwise unsavoury and ignoble. Herein, like Tulasî Dâsa, he set an example that has been followed with much benefit by reformers and teachers that have sprung up in Hinduism since its recrudescence under British rule. Though personally incapable of founding a sect, Chaitanya could collect around him men versed in practical affairs, and these, through the tolerance of the Emperor Akbar and the adherence of Râjpût princes and others of importance, were able to create for him after his death a sect and subsects at one time flourishing and powerful. This was achieved with the usual accompaniment of philosophy, literature, hymnology and ritual, which was essentially Hindu without much of outside mediæval influence in it, and in some cases with the inevitable leaven of Shâktism and a tendency to revert to the earlier forms. Here again one sees, in the midst of an atmosphere of general eclectic reform, the power of the conservative element in religious views and practice.

Neither Râmânanda, nor Vallabhâchârya, nor Chaitanya, nor their successors escaped the universal law of evolution from predecessors, some of whom are in their case to be found among the Marâthî Bhaktas (faith sect) of the Western Deccan. Of these Nâmadêva was the shining light just about Râmânanda's

time, and clearly before Guru Nânak. He not only influenced his own people but also North India and the Panjâb. His main object was to preach devotional faith (*bhakti*) by means of captivating verse of a high quality, but, like his predecessor, Lallâ, and his contemporaries, he used the gods while condemning idolatry, exhibiting thus that inability to escape from early education and surroundings which is characteristic of all human beings, who can in the abstract progress beyond them. Two centuries later came the influential Marâthî singer Tukârâm, an enthusiastic revivalist, a humble truster in God, and a fine poet, but with no definite capacity for distinguishing the spirituality of God in the form in which he worshipped Him from the image by which He was represented. God to him was known as Vitthala or Vithôbâ, really names for Vishnu, who in his images appeared as a blend of Vishnu and Shiva, surrounded by a galaxy of consorts and also accompanied by images reminiscent of the Five Gods (*pancha-dêva*). In this sense this cult is on the whole reactionary.

The above very brief consideration of Vallabhâchârya and Chaitanya, their predecessors and their followers, direct and indirect, is a fitting introduction to a like enquiry into the contemporary progress of ordinary orthodox Hinduism reacting on the efforts of Lallâ and the Reformers generally, which of course had its effect on the religion of the mediæval Hindus as a body. For instance, the old atheistic *Karma Mîmânsâ* (exegesis of the *Vêda*) found excellent and popular expositors in Mâdhava, Sâyana and other great Sanskrit scholars, who were largely occupied in an attempt to reconcile the atheism of their text with the current theism all around them. Although this necessarily produced some confusion in the popular mind, it was a natural, and it may be said also a universal, situation in the history of those ceaselessly changing views of the orthodox that are characteristic of succeeding generations everywhere. Then commentary after commentary (*bhâshya*) appeared, both orthodox and sectarian, on the *Vêdânta* and the *Upanishads* from all points of view, from purely monistic through compromise to dualist, some

of which had such vogue as to attract the attention of Dârâ Shikôh, the scholarly and tolerant son of Shâjahân, who had many translations made into Persian, a proceeding necessarily tending to a wide spread of the doctrines contained in them, at any rate among the Sûfîs. The Sânkhya Philosophy, too, with its attendant Yôga, found popular expositors, some of them aiming pathetically at proof of the essential harmony of all the Hindu philosophic systems. Even the Vaishêshika, with its atomic theory and accompanying system of Nyâya (logic), found vigorous students, who published their enquiries in popular form. All this is the old story, as clear at the present day as ever it was in mediæval times, of reactionary revival of ancient systems in the face of reforming attack, and in India as elsewhere the aim of the reactionaries was to reconcile the opposing and in some ways incompatible theories. At that time it was against the influence of Islâm and the philosophy connected with it: nowadays it is against what is felt to be an overwhelming influence on the part of modern European Christianity. It was this prevalence of orthodox Hindu feeling in the late mediæval and early modern periods of India that was cleverly and characteristically taken advantage of, though ultimately without any appreciable effect, by the eclectic Emperor Akbar with his Dîn Ilâhî (Divine Faith), which concentrated all religious authority in himself as at once the Stainless Incarnation (*Nishkalankâvatâra*) of the Hindus, the Mahdî (Guide of Life) of Islâm, and the Messiah (the Anointed) of the Christians. However, in adopting this line of action Akbar was after all but consciously or unconsciously following the opinion of the old Greek philosophers, which Alexander the Great used with so much effect in Persia by concentrating all the powers of the law and the divinity in himself. It will also be remembered that in modern times the Emperor of China, too, assumed the same position, politically very dangerous in the hands of any but strong and capable men.

Apart from revival of interest in the old orthodox philosophies, there arose in Bengal, North India, Gujarât and Râjpûtânâ, in the days of Lallâ and just after them, a great

Vaishnava poetic literature of Shâktic tendencies dealing with the legends of Râdhâ and Krishna. Of this Chandî Dâs of Bengal, Vidyâpati of Tirhût, the Brâhman Narsingh Mehtâ of Kâthîâwâr and the Râjpût Princess Mîrâ Bâî of Mêrtâ were the chief exponents. All this, too, shows that the Reformers were met by a body of popular preachers of great power and influence, determined to preserve recognised orthodoxy in various forms thereof, with a corresponding powerful effect on the populace; making it clear that the Reformers were very far from having it all their own way. And in checking reforming activities, Shaiva doctors, orthodox and sectarian, took a hand with the Vaishnavas, though not to the same extent.

It is to be expected that such a form of religion as that represented by Shâktism, appealing directly to erotic emotion, should die a hard death, once it has got a hold on the collective mind of any community. Indeed, it stood up steadfastly in India, especially in Bengal and Assam, against the assaults of the Reformers. Fresh *Tantras* were produced in their days as foul as anything ever concocted in a radically foul literature, and the rites advocated were as bloodthirsty as ever. At the same time an attempt was made to win the decently-minded over to the Shâktic fold, which was much more insidious. Beginning apparently with the *Mahânirvâna Tantra*, an eighteenth century Shâktic work, books were composed, which, even though "left-handed," contained noble passages relating to the worship of the Supreme Brahman. These aimed at showing how the Tântric principles could be preserved without abuse—that it was possible to be a true "Left-hand" Shâkta without impurity of mind and practice. At the same time the "Right-hands" created a severe system of mental and physical restraint (*shrîvidyâ*, exalted knowledge), which was difficult to maintain. Even the Jains, who were not much given to literature, joined in the general effort at self-defence, which took the form of discrediting and even abolishing image-worship. This was partly a reversion to the primitive views of Jainism, and partly the result of close contact with Islâm, and it was no doubt greatly influenced by the latter.

These efforts at reversion in the face of what was felt to be dangerous reform, and the attendant attempts at compromise, undoubtedly had such a deep effect on the mind of the whole intelligent Indian population that, after the long period of enforced religious inactivity consequent on the anarchy following the period of the fanatical and all-powerful Muhammadan monarch Aurangzêb, it has appeared again under the tolerant rule of the British suzerains in all its old vigour, making the religious situation of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries much that of the sixteenth and those just preceding it, if one substitutes immediate contact with Christianity for that with Islâm, as the disturbing outside influence on Hinduism. Indeed, the more closely one compares the mediæval Hindu reforms consequent on the advent of Islâm and the modern reforms consequent on the advent of Christianity, the more one perceives the near family likeness. One can in fact watch the mediæval story faithfully reproducing itself by observing the processes of Râmânanda, Kabîr, and the rest, in their day, with the example of Islâm and Sûfîism before them, and those of, say, the Brâhma Samâj (Bengal) with its offshoot the Prârthanâ Samâj (Bombay), of the Ârya Samâj (Panjâb) and the Theosophical Society (Madras), with the example of Christianity before them in our day; and again of the almost reactionary sect of Râmakrishna Paramahansa of Calcutta and the still more orthodox Bhârat Dharma Mahâmandal of Bihâr and Dêva Samâj with its worship of its founder Pandit Agnihôtri, and the like. So that to assert that the popular religion of Lallâ's time was, as now, the old Hinduism as modified by much eclectic reform, is to state a practically self-evident proposition.

PART II

LALLÂ'S RELIGION

THEORY & DOCTRINE

THEORY

LALLÂ was a Shaiva *yôginî* of Kashmîr; that is, she was a professed female follower and teacher of Shaiva Hinduism, as understood in that country in her time, the fourteenth century A.D. The specialised Shaiva system she learned was a mixture of revelation and philosophy, popularly known as the Trika (triple), because it propounded a triple principle: *Shiva*, *Shakti*, *anu*; or *Pati*, *pâsha*, *pashu*. The first of these categories of the Trika Philosophy contains highly technical terms describing the principles of the Shaiva philosophy of the Kâshmîrîs, which for the present may be explained as Shiva representing the One Reality, His creative power as an insuperable aspect of Himself, and His creature the limited individual Soul as a mere existence, a "non-spatial point"—"a point is that which hath no parts." The second category indicates that the founders of the Trika were Pâshupata Shaivas, because it refers to the doctrines and principles of that sect of the past, whereby the limited individual Soul (*pashu*, lit., cattle) can be released from its bonds (*pâsha*) only by Pashupati (Shiva as Lord of the Flock, *i.e.*, of limited individual Souls). The Trika Philosophy first made its appearance about 900 A.D. as a thoroughgoing monistic (*advaita*) philosophy, claiming, however, to be revelation (*shruti*) from Shiva himself as Shrîkantha of the Himâlayas (Kailâsa). It has been already pointed out that the old Hindu philosophers could not get a hearing unless they connected their philosophic reasoning directly with a recognised god and so could be regarded as orthodox; and in this case, no doubt, the philosophy preceded the revelation, and not the other way round, as the Kâshmîrîs still claim. What really happened appears to have been this. The older Shaiva doctrine taught in Kashmîr was dualist (*dvaita*), and more than probably as the result of the visit of the great apostle of monism (*advaitavâda*, non-dualist path), Shankarâchârya, before 850 A.D., the Kâshmîrî doctors (*pandit*) were induced about that time to change the system, and composed, or as the Kâshmîrîs say re-introduced, a pure or essential

monism (*advaita-tattva*, principle of unity). Shankarâchârya was himself a Shaiva, in spite of his Vedantic teaching and upholding of Brahman as the one self-existent Being, and was influential enough to found during his tour in the Himâlayas a monastery at Badarînâth, and to be commemorated by the great Shankarâchâraj Temple on the Takht-i-Sulaimân at Srînagar in Kashmîr. Having decided on the change, the Kâshmîrî Shaivas set up, after the sectarian fashion then coming into vogue, an *Âgama Shâstra* (Treatise on that which has come down, tradition), now believed to be revelation in the form of *Shiva-Sûtras* (*memoria technica* of Shiva, *i.e.*, of Shaiva doctrine). There are besides two other "revealed" *Shâstras*, which formed the basis of Kâshmîrî *advaita* or monistic Shaivism, *viz.*, the *Spanda Shâstra*, which contains an amplification of the *Shiva-Sûtras*, chiefly by way of commentary without going into philosophical questions: and the *Pratyabhigyâ* (*Pratyabhijñâ*) *Shâstra* (treatise on the continuous recognition by man of his identity with Shiva), which formed the philosophy (*darshana*, view, reasoning) of the Trika. These three books form what may be called the Canon of Kâshmîrî Shaivism. The first of these, the *Âgama Shâstra*, is believed to have been delivered as revelation by Shiva Himself. Vasugupta, the author of the second, the *Spanda Shâstra*, also claimed to be merely repeating what was revealed to him. Sômânanda, a contemporary of Vasugupta, expounded the philosophy in the third, the *Pratyabhigyâ* (*Pratyabhijñâ*) *Shâstra*.

The date of Vasugupta as a teacher can be fixed with some certainty as about 800–850 A.D. His chief apostle was Kallata Bhatta, who worked about 850–900 A.D. and promulgated the new doctrine by means of explanatory treatises and teaching to pupils, the chief of whom are known as far as Bhâskara of the eleventh century. Bhâskara wrote a well-known work from the revealed unphilosophical point of view, which was passed on by his son and pupil to Abhinava Gupta, a great Shaiva writer, who in the eleventh century combined the revealed and philosophical views, and became thereafter the chief authority on all matters relating to Kâshmîrî

Shaivism. In the end it was the philosophy of the *Pratyabhigyâ* (*Pratyabhijñâ*) *Shâstra* that dominated the Kâshmîrî Shaivas. With the third in scholastic descent from Abhinava Gupta, the activities of the School came to an end by 1200 A.D. The point of importance, therefore, that arises in the present connection is how far the doctrines of the School had sunk into the professed followers of its teaching, and were carried on, in the absence of additions to its literature, in the fourteenth century, when Lallâ Yôgîshwarî (great professor of the Shaiva-Yôga practices) learnt and conveyed the religion and philosophy to the public in popular verse. It is to be observed, that Râmânuja, the greatest mediæval Vaishnava teacher, and most powerful master of propaganda after Shankarâchârya, who influenced all Hinduism, including the Shaivas, paid a visit to Kashmîr between the days of Abhinava Gupta and Lallâ, some effects of which seem to be visible in the latter's verse.

Briefly the Trika is a Shaiva sectarian philosophy, evolved in Kashmîr in the Middle Ages, and contains very much that is to be found in the old Sânkhya teaching of philosophic stages in the cosmic development, and in the tenets of the Shaiva Pâshupata and Vaishnava Pâncharâtra Sects, and also in the early Shâkta doctrines. As the examination of the Trika philosophy proceeds, it will be seen that perhaps the aptest label for it is to call it a philosophy of Human Experience, *i.e.*, Empirics, a description which also fits the old Sânkhya.

In discussing or considering any system of Advaita Philosophy or Monism, including that of the Kâshmîrî Shaivas, as it appears to them, it is necessary always to bear in mind that it treats the Self or Soul of a being and the Supreme as one and the same, whereas the Dvaita Philosophy or Dualism holds them to be separate entities. The Philosophic System now to be considered is the Trika, or Advaita Philosophy of the Shaivas of Kashmîr. It is also necessary to remark here that, following the usual Indian custom, its professors and teachers tick off the points of their argument and number

them under various headings and even sub-headings: such as the five aspects of the creative power (*shakti*) of the Supreme Shiva; the thirty-six stages in cosmic evolution, or essences of things that exist (*tattva*), which are again differently divided into eight or ten groups, each further subdivided; *e.g.*, the five causative elements of sense-perception (*tanmâtra*) and so on. There is a further preliminary point to be noticed here. It has already been pointed out that, about the middle of the sixth century A.D., there began to appear generally in Hindu philosophy a principle known as Shakti, representing the Creative Power inherent in the Godhead. This, to the public, new principle was regarded as female, and originated with the Shaivas, in reference to the spouse of Shiva. The original theory was that the impersonal Supreme, that is Shiva, as the Absolute (Brahman) in his male aspect, is unapproachable, inert, and inactive, and can only be approached or become active through his spouse or female aspect, Shakti. Shiva alone does nothing and controls nothing: Shiva combined with Shakti does everything and controls everything. The teachers and followers of this philosophy set up a sect called the Shâktas, and Shâktism became a main component of the religion of the Hindus, and its doctrines permeated not only the Shaivas, but the Vaishnavas, the Buddhists and to some extent the Jains, as well, in varying degrees and forms, *i.e.*, all Hinduism. It naturally appeared among the Kâshmîrî Shaivas of the ninth century A.D. from the very first.

As has already been said, Mr J. C. Chatterji, of the Research Department of the Kashmîr Government at Srînagar, issued not long ago an authoritative exposition, based on the received Sanskrit texts, of the beliefs, ideas and teaching of the Kâshmîrî Shaivas. In order then to understand the doctrine, that was taught to Lallâ and is so constantly referred to in her verses and teaching, it is necessary to examine closely Mr Chatterji's statements regarding it. Following his argument, therefore, and adopting generally his English rendering of Sanskrit terms, it may be said that the Kâshmîrî Shaivas commence the argument with which they build up their

philosophy by predicating the existence of an abstract Experiencing Principle, It. They then by a further predication identify the Experiencing Principle, firstly with what they term *âtman*, which is thus ability or power to experience. Âtman is usually translated into English as the true or innermost Self, *i.e.*, ability or power to be or exist (stand out), inherent in every being. But it will have been observed that the term Soul, *i.e.*, ability or power to think, translates *âtman* equally well[1]. Secondly, they identify the Experiencing Principle with *chit* or *chaitanya*, of which terms *chit* indicates the process of experiencing, perception, intelligence: thought: Soul in the abstract; while the term *chaitanya*, a derivative from *chit*, through *chêtana*, indicates more definitely an active mental perception, sensation: consciousness: Soul as an experiencing being, Experiencer. All this is to say that they identify both the Experiencing Principle and the process of experiencing with the Experiencer, the Ego, I. Thirdly, they identify the combination of the Experiencing Principle, the process of experiencing and the Experiencer with Parâ Samvid the Supreme Experience, Paramêshvara the Supreme Lord, Shiva the Benign, and Parama Shiva the Supreme Shiva, He. So the whole predication on which the Trika Philosophy is based amounts to this. Shiva as the Supreme Lord is one and the same with the Self or Soul of every being, and at the same time with thought and mental perception and the Experiencing Principle, both in the abstract and in the concrete. Shiva is thus It and I and He. Now a predicated existence is obviously a reality, and with equal obviousness it must be changeless: so to the above predication the Kâshmîrî Shaivas add the corollary that both Shiva and the Self or Soul of every being is a changeless Reality.

Upon this they make a further predication that the Supreme Shiva, who is also Shiva, underlies, as the Changeless Reality, not only the innermost Self or Soul of every experiencing being, but also all things else in the universe, taken indi-

[1] In the expressions Soul, Abstract Thought, Mind, the proper sequence would appear to be: ability, power or capacity to think, Soul; actual process of thinking, Thought in the abstract; that which thinks, Mind.

vidually and collectively. In other words, Shiva underlies the entire Universe and all its contents. He is, therefore, one and the same in every being and thing in the Universe, "undivided and unlimited by any of them, however much they may be separated by time and space." He is thus beyond the limits of time, space or form, and consequently Eternal and Infinite. As He is one and the same as the Self or Soul, every attribute applicable to Him applies to the Soul also.

Out of the predication that the Supreme Shiva, or Shiva, underlies everything conceivable arises, too, the corollary that He is All-pervading, and because He is beyond the limits of time, space or form, He is All-transcending. From this it follows that He has a twofold aspect: firstly, "an immanent aspect, in which he pervades the universe, and secondly, a transcendental aspect, in which He is beyond all universal manifestation." Another corollary arising out of the predication that the Supreme Shiva, or Shiva, underlies everything, is that the phenomenon called the Entire Universe, together with its contents, is "but a manifestation of His immanent aspect." As the Kâshmîrî Shaivas put it, the Universe "has no other basis," nor other ingredient (*guna*) in it.

To take the first of these two aspects of Shiva, the immanent aspect, which the Kâshmîrî Shaivas call Shakti and predicate to be female Creative Power, *i.e.*, power both to initiate and develop, otherwise Energy and Activity inherent in Shiva.

This predication makes Shakti an aspect of Shiva, and She cannot therefore be differentiated from Him. She is as much Shiva as is His male aspect. Shiva is thus both He and She, a Unity in Duality, and a Duality in Unity by a line of argument familiar to Christianity. It will have been observed that Shiva is also a pure abstraction, Âtman, the Experiencing Principle, the abstract Self or Soul, and thus It, and at the same time the Experiencing Self or Soul, and thus I. Shiva is therefore also It and I and He and She, a Unity in Quadrality and a Quadrality in Unity. Such is the argument by which the Kâshmîrî Shaivas seek to bridge over the gap caused by the difficulty of transition from No-Life to Life, from the

abstract to the concrete, from the inanimate to the animate, from the impersonal to the personal, from the general to the individual, from the inert to the active—a difficulty which confronts all philosophy. Once the bridge is made and the gap crossed, or predicated to be made and crossed as in the case of the Trika Philosophy, so that the inert has become the active, *i.e.*, capable of activity, Shakti becomes logically possible as Shiva's exercise of His Energy (*i.e.*, His initiative plus His activity), and thus of His Creative Power. As will be seen later on, the reverse bridge over the gap from the active to the inert, from the individual to the general, from the personal to the impersonal, from the animate to the inanimate, from the concrete to the abstract, from Life to No-Life—is sought by the practices enjoined in the Yôga Philosophy, which is correlated to the Trika as well as to the Sânkhya.

A limited concrete illustration of the idea of Shiva thus elaborated is to be found in self-fertilising plants (Dicotyledon), which have in themselves, as integral aspects of themselves, both male and female organs of generation, and are therefore both he and she. They are also capable of performing acts of their own accord without extraneous guidance, instigation or interference, one of such acts being the act of self-fertilisation. Each is therefore a personality, Ego, I. Lastly, they possess Energy (*i.e.*, initiation plus activity), or they could not perform acts. They therefore possess It. The difference between them and the Shiva of the Trika Philosophy is that they *possess* It, whereas He is predicated to *be* It. A similar illustration can be found in some living organisations with the power of locomotion[1].

It is now necessary to draw attention to certain difficulties in the way of accurately conveying Indian and Oriental philosophy to Western peoples. They may be briefly stated thus: (i) on the part of Western scholars, of being sure of

[1] It will have been observed that the self-fertilising plants also provide a concrete illustration of a Trinity in Unity, as being in themselves both he and she, and thus a Duality capable of performing actions and therefore also I. But there is this difference between such a Trinity in Unity and the Trinity in Unity in Christianity. The plant, as a personal Trinity

exactly comprehending the sense of the Indian and Oriental terms used; (ii) on the part of Indian and Oriental scholars, of being sure of exactly comprehending the sense of corresponding terms in the Western languages; (iii) on the part of both, of being sure of exactly comprehending the meaning of the old writers, especially when they write in verse, often allegorical, or convey their doctrine in the syncopated language of *memoria technica*; and (iv) those arising generally from the use of the same or similar terms in varying senses by successive generations and rival schools of Indian, Oriental, and Western philosophic authorities.

Bearing these precautionary observations in mind, it may be said that Shakti being brought into existence in the way above described as the Energy or active aspect of Shiva, the Kâshmîrî Shaivas proceed to observe that She has an infinity of aspects on Her own account, of which five are primary. They are, therefore, the five Primary Powers enabling Shiva, in combination with Shakti, to manifest Himself by means of evolution or development. These five Powers are, following Mr Chatterji's rendering generally: (i) *Chit*, abstract intelligence, self-produced revelation by pure light of intelligence; (ii) *Ânanda*, abstract joy, realisation of absolute bliss, *i.e.*, of being at rest independently of effort; (iii) *Ichchhâ*, will, irresistible will guiding supreme ability to resolve what to do or what to create; (iv) *Gyâna* (*Jñâna*), abstract knowledge, consciousness—without reference to emotion or will,—capacity for organisation, *i.e.*, for knowing how to bring all objects into relations with Himself and with one another; (v) *Kriyâ*, creative power, assumption of any and every form, the principle of Creative Power.

in Unity, acts involuntarily by instinct (the result of instigation from a source not perceivable by human beings), whereas God as a personal Trinity in Unity acts by volition (exercise of will). The difference between volition and instinct can be thus illustrated. A young cuckoo, captured in England in its first year, was put into a cage. When the usual time for the annual migration came, it was observed to get into a great state of excitement and go through all the motions of violent flight every night for a series of nights representing the period of the annual migratory flight. This action was instinctive in the sense of being instigated from a source not perceivable by human beings, as there was no other cuckoo about to teach or remind it.

It is then predicated that, through the exercise of these Primary Powers, Shiva of His own independent will manifests Himself as the Universe, of which it will have been observed He is also the basis, the process of development, and the developer. The Universe is thus an expansion of the Primary Powers, or Shakti, of Shiva[1]. Being an expansion of Shakti, the Universe can therefore exist as a manifestation of Shiva only when and as long as She expands or continues to develop, and it ceases to exist when and so long as She acts in the opposite manner, or contracts, or ceases to develop. Shakti therefore in Her action shows Herself to be the Principle of Alternation. Hence it is predicated that universe must follow on universe indefinitely from and through all eternity. The universes are for this reason further predicated to be "linked together in a series by the relation of causal necessity," *i.e.*, by evolution or development: which is to say that "each successive universe comes into existence as an inevitable consequence of causes generated in its predecessors." Shakti therefore is held to alternate between manifestation of a development during activity (*âbhâsa*, appearance) and potentiality for such manifestation during cessation from activity (*pralaya*, dissolution). This alternation is predicated to occur in cycles (*kalpa*, ordered alternation in point of time).

It follows from the previous argument that the expansion of Shakti builds up the infinite variety of beings and things, that appear to make up the Universe, out of fundamental principles of evolution or development, or factors called *tattva* (thatness, essence, actuality, principle) in the Trika Philosophy. The *tattvas* thus represent points or stages marking evolution or development by the process of presumably successive expansions of Shakti. In this philosophy they are 36 in number, falling into eight or ten groups, according to

[1] All this is strongly reminiscent of the Vaishnava (Bhâgavata Pâncharâtra) transcendental doctrine of the self-expansion (*vyûha*) of Vishnu as the Supreme in the course of cosmic development, but without the aid of Shakti, as Her evolution came at a later date.

the authority consulted, from the ultimate Reality, *i.e.*, Shiva, to the point or stage remotest therefrom; in other words, from the absolute Abstract to the absolute Concrete. These groups can be stated thus, following generally Mr Chatterji's rendering of the Sanskrit terms:

GROUP I. The Five Universal Principles (*tattva*). (i) Abstract Experience and also the Experiencer, the abstract I (Ego, *ahankâra*) before formulation of "I am" (*Shiva-tattva*, the principle of abstract Benignity). (ii) Potentiality of Universal Experience, alternating with its negation, Experience of being as and of the Universe (*Shakti-tattva*, abstract Power). (iii) Being (*sâdâkhya*), "the condition out of and in which experience of being begins"; also *Sadâ-Shiva-tattva*, the principle of the Eternal Shiva. (iv) Identification (*Aishvarya* or *Îshvara-tattva*, lordliness, might). (v) Correlation (*sad-vidyâ*, or *shuddha-vidyâ*, true knowledge).

GROUP II. The Six Limitations (*kanchuka*, sheath, *i.e.*, of *purusha*, the individual Soul). (i) Power of limitation and differentiation (*mâyâ*). (ii) Access (*niyati*, restriction, regulation, *i.e.*, of space, the determinant of "where"). (iii) Duration (*kâla*, time, the determinant of "when"). (iv) Attention, Interest (*râga*, attachment through interest). (v) Perception without interest (*vidyâ*, limited knowledge). (vi) Authorship (*kalâ*, art, power of limited creation).

GROUP III. The Two Principles of limited individuality (*purusha* and *prakriti*, the individual Soul and Nature). (i) The Limited Individual Soul that experiences feeling (*purusha*, the individual). (ii) The Root of all Feeling, whether Bliss or inactive feeling, or Delusion or inert feeling (*Prakriti*, She that works forth, Nature in equilibrium).

After this last point or stage, the Trika Philosophy, in tracing the processes of the evolution or development of the universe, shows that it was evolved from a source common to it and the old Sânkhya Philosophy, which commences with Purusha and Prakriti (Soul and Nature) as its final realities. Indeed the philosophy of the Kâshmîrî Shaivas is almost an expansion of the Sânkhya, carrying the evolutionary principles eleven points further, all of a transcendental nature,

before it reaches its final Reality in the Principle of Benignity (*Shiva-tattva*)[1].

To continue Mr Chatterji's grouping:

GROUP IV. The Three Capacities of Mental Operation (*antahkarana*, inner organ). (i) Intuition, Judgment (*buddhi*). (ii) Self-arrogation with Appropriation (*ahankâra*, "that which builds up the Ego," I). (iii) Concretion and Imagination upon perception (*manas*, "that which is ever moving," the Mind).

GROUP V. The Five Capacities for Sense Perception, the Five Senses (*buddhîndriya*, capacity, *indriya*, for intuitive knowledge). (i) Hearing. (ii) Feeling, Touch. (iii) Sight. (iv) Taste. (v) Smell.

GROUP VI. The Five Elements of Sense (*tanmâtra*, element, rudiment), the Elements which produce (i) Sound, (ii) Feeling, (iii) Colour or Form, (iv) Flavour or Love, (v) Odour.

GROUP VII. The Five Motor Capacities (*indriya*, power, capacity: *karmêndriya*, capacity for action, activity). (i) Expression, Speech. (ii) Handling. (iii) Locomotion. (iv) Voiding, Discarding. (v) Passive enjoyment.

GROUP VIII. The Five Factors of materiality (*bhûta*, that which has grown or been, not that which is). (i) Vacuity (*âkâsha*, the firmament). (ii) Aeriality (*vâyu*, the atmosphere). (iii) Formativity, Form-building (*agni*, fire, heat). (iv) Liquidity (*ap*, water). (v) Solidity, Solid Stability (*prithivî*, the Earth).

The stages (*tattva*) thus enumerated are counted both ways, *i.e.*, from the ultimately material to the ultimately transcendental, from the material Earth to the transcendental Shiva, and *vice versâ* as above. This causes a natural confusion in enumeration. To make the situation plain, a table such as that given below is necessary. But this confusion in enumeration is made worse confounded by counting Prakriti or Nature in equipoise as an isolated Group, No. VI or V, and also Mâyâ as another isolated Group, No. III or VIII, and the last (or first) transcendental Group as two Groups. Also the division

[1] Here is an implication that the Trika Philosophy contains, as already stated, much that is the Shaiva philosophy of the Pâshupatas.

of the *tattvas* into groups is not always the same in different authors, though they all seem to agree to count the *tattvas* as 36 and practically in the same order or its reverse. Further, it has to be borne in mind that, as Mr Chatterji shows, the various authors do not always mean exactly the same thing by the technical terms they use; therefore the European investigator has to use his own discretion in arriving at their joint meaning in collating statements.

THE DOUBLE ENUMERATION OF THE TATTVAS

No.	Tattva	
	Group I or VIII (or X).	
1 or 36	Solidity, Prithivî	The Five Physical Orders, Bhûta
2 „ 35	Liquidity, Ap	
3 „ 34	Formativity, Agni	
4 „ 33	Aeriality, Vâyu	
5 „ 32	Vacuity or Ethereality, Âkâsha	
	Group II or VII (or IX).	
6 or 31	Rest, Upasthêndriya	The Five Motor Capacities or Powers, Karmêndriya
7 „ 30	Rejection, Pâyvindriya	
8 „ 29	Locomotion, Pâdêndriya	
9 „ 28	Handling, Hastêndriya	
10 „ 27	Expression, Vâgindriya	
	Group III or VI (or VIII).	
11 or 26	Odour, Gandhatanmâtra	The Five Causative Elements of Sense Perception, Tanmâtra
12 „ 25	Flavour, Rasatanmâtra	
13 „ 24	Colour, Rûpatanmâtra	
14 „ 23	Feeling, Sparshatanmâtra	
15 „ 22	Sound, Shabdatanmâtra	
	Group IV or V (or VII).	
16 or 21	Smell, Ghrânêndriya	The Five Capacities of Sense Perception, Gyânêndriya (Jñânêndriya), Buddhîndriya
17 „ 20	Taste, Rasanêndriya	
18 „ 19	Sight, Darshanêndriya	
19 „ 18	Touch, Sparshanêndriya	
20 „ 17	Hearing, Shravanêndriya	
	Group V or IV (or VI).	
21 or 16	Mind, Manas	The Three Mental Factors produced by the Limited Individual Soul, Purusha
22 „ 15	Ego, I, Ahankâra	
23 „ 14	Abstract Knowledge, Buddhi	

Group VI or III (or V and IV).

No.	Tattva	Group
24 or 13	Nature as Equipoise, Prakriti[1]	The Two Principles of Limited Individuality, Purusha and Prakriti
25 „ 12	Limited Individual Soul or Self, Purusha	

Group VII or II (or III and IV)[2].

No.	Tattva	Group
26 or 11	Power of Limited Creation, Art, Kalâ	The Six Limitations of the Soul or Self, Kanchuka
27 „ 10	Inattentive Perception, Vidyâ	
28 „ 9	Interest, Attention, Râga	
29 „ 8	Duration, Kâla	
30 „ 7	Access, Niyati	
31 „ 6	Illusion, Mâyâ	

Group VIII or I (I and II)[3].

No.	Tattva	Group
32 or 5	Correlation, Sadvidyâ, Shuddhavidyâ	The Five Universal Principles, Tattva
33 „ 4	Identification, Aishvarya, Îshvara-Tattva	
34 „ 3	Abstract Being, Sâdâkhya, Sadâ-Shiva Tattva	
35 „ 2	Abstract Power, Shakti Tattva	
36 „ 1	Abstract Experience, Shiva Tattva	

The manifestation of a Universe, evolved or developed in this way by the expansion of Shakti, cannot be anything but, and therefore is, "an expression of Shiva, the highest Reality," the Supreme in His aspect of the Experiencer (*Chaitanya*). The Universe is thus a manifestation or expression of development or evolution by a divine process of experiencing out, analogous to the human process of experiencing out, *i.e.*, thinking, or psychical or mental reproduction (*unmêsha*, opening out)[4]. The Shaivas call the process

[1] Prakriti being counted by herself as Group V, and Purusha being counted as part of the next Group, the Kanchukas, No. IV, Prakriti as a Group apart is held to contain three features (*guna*) kept in mutual neutralisation or equipoise: *Sattva*, passive goodness or virtue, *Rajas*, passion, active evil or vice, and *Tamas*, darkness or ignorance of the other two.

[2] Counting Mâyâ as one of the Group of Kanchukas or Limitations.

[3] This is brought about by counting the *tattvas* Shiva and Shakti as a group apart, No. I.

[4] Here is one of the points in the general argument which makes clear the aptness of the label proposed above for the Trika Philosophy. It is a Philosophy of Human Experience, *i.e.*, Empirics.

"shining-out" (*âbhâsa*) and the Vaishnavas "unrolling" (*vivarta*, whirling out), *i.e.*, "appearing in diverse forms," causing thereby the appearances which constitute the Universe. Upon this argument the Kâshmîrî Shaivas predicate the process to be one whereby products are brought into manifestation from a source which, while giving birth to these, remains itself unaffected and undivided, limitless[1].

The process is therefore one of apparent division only, and after division the source not only does not diminish, but is capable of gaining "in strength, substance and volume" to an immeasurable degree. To illustrate the meaning at this point, Mr Chatterji instances conjugal and parental love in one and the same pair of human beings, which is increased for each other by division among their children. In this case the process of division is apparent only, as it suffers not only no diminution thereby, but actually experiences apparent increase in volume, indicating an inexhaustible source. To this useful illustration he adds the growth and expansion of a vitalised cell. Such a cell has manifested in it a fundamental principle (*tattva*) called Life, which enables it to grow, expand and multiply (reproduce) itself by successive processes of division; which division can only be apparent, because no diminution of Life is caused thereby in any of the growths, expansions, or multiplications, nor in the parent cell or centre of Life itself. This appearance only of division is also true in the case of numerous centres of Life being produced directly, or successively, from one another, out of the parent centre. The Life remains the same undivided entity in all of them from first to last *ad infinitum*. This is the process of Âbhâsa, in its aspect of growth, expansion and multiplication (reproduction).

[1] Mr Chatterji, however, observes a difference between the Shaiva *âbhâsa* and the Vaishnava *vivarta*, in that, according to the Shaivas, the appearances constituting the Universe are essentially real, as being expressions of the Supreme Reality, Shiva; whereas, according to the Vaishnavas, the appearances are not essentially real, as being non-existent in the Supreme Reality, Brahman. It is admitted, nevertheless, that as a process *Âbhâsa* is one and the same as *Vivarta*. All this means that Shiva is involved in every process of evolution; wherefore it may be fairly called one of involute evolution.

But obviously the process of growth, expansion and multiplication must have an earlier transcendental aspect than that manifested in the Universe, *viz.*, that manifestable in the source of all Life, *e.g.*, in the growth, expansion and multiplication of that which produces the life observable in a primary or parent cell, and yet leaves the sources of life unchanged. The actual procedure of this earlier aspect being, however, according to the Kâshmîrî Shaivas, transcendental, *i.e.*, not observable by human beings in the present stage of the development of their intelligence, is therefore yet to seek[1].

It will have been seen then, that the Trika Philosophy predicates that the process of manifestation of the Universe (*Âbhâsa*) does not in any way affect the source of production by bringing the products into existence, and that therefore the source remains unchanged and its division into products is only apparent. Upon this it is argued in that philosophy, that this is so, because, as has been above explained, manifestation of the Universe is, in its ultimate essence, an experiencing out by the Experiencing Principle, and that, therefore, "the process of production and reproduction on the part of the Experiencing Principle," as witnessed in the Universe, "is incapable of having any other meaning than multiplication" of abstractions having various experiences following one another by steps or stages (*tattva*), each as a logical necessity of that preceding it[2]. Accordingly, the whole process is to their minds essentially logical. In other words, the operation of the process is guided by a Law of Logical Necessity (*unmêsha*, opening out).

The explanation of the operation of this Law of Logical Necessity and the results to which it leads as the manifestation of the Universe proceeds, each successive result being

[1] It is believed, nevertheless, that the masters of the Yôga practices (*yôgêshvara*) have acquired the power to observe the primary processes of *Âbhâsa* (transcendental evolution), not observable by other human beings.

[2] In practice, however, as the Table of Tattvas attached hereto will show, the sequence of stages is not strictly logical, as some which are counted in the thirty-six are parallel and not in sequence, and others that apparently ought to be counted in are left out.

in this view in no way affected by that preceding or following it, is based on the predication of the second of the two aspects of Shiva—the transcendental aspect; the previous argument having been concerned only with the first of these,—the immanent aspect. This, the highest transcendental aspect of Shiva, is defined as that in which He transcends His own Cosmic experience. This definition is followed up by a series of predications. Thus, He is complete in Himself as the Principle of Benignity, transcending the Universe as a potentiality, *i.e.*, "He transcends Reality, Bliss, Intelligence, and the all-including Supreme Experience" of a Universe. In this condition, there can be no want of a Universe, as Shiva is thus complete in Himself, holding within Himself the Universe unmanifested. However, it is obvious that there is in actual existence a manifestation of the Universe, and this is predicated to have been brought into existence by Shiva calling into action that aspect of Himself which is known as Shakti, "manifesting Herself as the Principle of Negation." The result of this is that the potential Universe disappears from His view, which *ipso facto* takes a Somewhat from Him as the transcendental Shiva, and creates in what is left of Him a want of that which is essentially a part of Himself and one and the same as Himself, *i.e.*, of a Universe which is the all-pervading Shiva. This brings about an experience.

Such is the general fundamental and final predication on which the whole fabric of the Trika Philosophy is built; and the experience by Shiva that a potential Universe is missing is thus the first stage (*Shiva-tattva*) of the first group of stages in the cosmic evolution. There are 36 of such stages noted in the Trika from the absolute abstract to the absolute concrete, as has been already explained. In the first stage, Shiva is the Light of Intelligence (*Chinmâtra*) only, the abstract Ego, I, without any implication of identity or being: in other words, the Principle of the Ego only.

It will have been noticed that the first stage of evolution has been brought about by Shakti manifesting Herself at Shiva's call in the first of Her five primary aspects, self-

produced revelation by pure light of intelligence (*chit*), the rest being in suspension. Although by Her action in this stage, Shakti has brought about an experience, She has brought about no action whatever. The situation is still that of absolute rest in the Self, *i.e.*, it is the second primary aspect of Shakti (*ânanda*), abstract joy or bliss[1]. That, however, is not the net result of the combined action of the inseparable Realities, Shiva and Shakti, which has been obviously to call something into being besides their transcendental selves, *viz.*, "the very first flutter" of "that vibratory movement" which is called Life (*prâna*). In other words, by their combined action of manifestation, Life has been introduced into the inert potentiality of the Universe: Shiva acting as the Principle of Potentiality in movement and Shakti as the regulator, the Principle of Power and Restraint. This constitutes the second stage in development (*Shakti tattva*).

The antagonistic and therefore alternating action of Potentiality in Movement and Restraint, however rapid it may be, produces the experience of being in existence, but without definite consciousness as to the form thereof. This is the first form of activity from absolute rest, the first form of the notion of Being (*sâdâkhya*, principle of pure being). The share of Shakti in producing this is provided by Her third primary aspect of self-realisation of ability to act (*ichchhâ*), a state of thoughtfulness leading to "wonder" as to further action. This third stage in development (*Sâdâkhya tattva*), which is at the same time the first manifestation of the universal or cosmic process, amounts therefore to "a mental stocktaking" on the part of Shiva in his aspect of experiencer, combined with a will to act (*ichchhâ*)[2].

From the foregoing statement it follows that the principle of the third stage of cosmic development is the experience

[1] The five primary aspects of Shakti have been already explained. They are respectively named *chit, ânanda, ichchhâ, gyâna* (*jñâna*) and *kriyâ*. Whenever Shakti is assumed to be acting in one of them, the rest are assumed to be in suspension.

[2] Some Kâshmîrî Shaivas consider the first two stages, the Shiva and Shakti *tattvas*, to be apart from those that follow, as being eternally co-existent, which makes the *Sâdâkhya tattva* the first stage in the evolution of the cosmic process. This is reproducing the old Pâshupata view.

of existence without consciousness. This is followed, owing to the action of the fourth primary aspect of Shakti (*gyâna* (*jñana*), consciousness, knowledge), by conscious experience of existence, *i.e.*, identification of the Self with a state or condition. The Experienced in this case being Shiva, this fourth stage of development is called the *Aishvarya tattva*, the Principle of Lordliness, of experiencing that "I am the Lord (*Îshvara*) with the power and the will to create the Universe." The Trika Philosophy recognises the difference between the third and fourth stages of development, measured by the degree of prominence of recognition by the experiencing Being of Himself and what is experienced—the difference between "I am *this*" (third stage) and "*This* I am" (fourth stage). The third and fourth stages thus make the recognition possible, but leaves it in an unbalanced condition.

In the fifth stage (*sad-vidyâ* or *shuddha-vidyâ*, true knowledge, the realisation of phenomena as they truly are) the balance is equalised and the experiences "I am *this*" and "*This* am I" "are realised with equal clearness," so that the prominence of the one or the other is lost, and they are merged into each other, while still remaining essentially separate. As Mr Chatterji points out, this situation can be thus illustrated. A human being feels himself to be identified with his body, thoughts and emotions, and yet realises that he is the possessor of each and all of them: he is "I" and "all of them" at one and the same time. He is in himself both the subject and the object (the subject-object of philosophy), and indeed all the objects, of his experience of himself. That is to say, his experience of himself is his realisation of diversity in unity (*bhêdâbhêda*). The realisation of "this" therefore involves the realisation of "all this" as one and the same as "the Self," *i.e.*, of the two sides of the balance or equations "I am this," "this am I": "I am all this"; "all this am I." Although the fifth stage of cosmic development is still concerned only with the transcendental, *i.e.*, with what is beyond human experience, and "all this" relates only to pure ideas, the situation involves a definite movement and action, in which Shakti manifests the principle of creative

power, Her fifth primary aspect of the power of assumption of any and every form (*kriyâ*).

This exposition of the Trika Philosophy has been dealing so far with the evolutionary stages in the manifestation of the cosmic experiences of transcendental unlimited beings or divinities, which stages necessarily lead to similar experiences on the part of limited beings. This brings the exponents of this philosophy to the standing difficulty of all philosophy, *viz.*, the transition from the unlimited to the limited; from the perfect and pure, because unlimited, to the imperfect and impure, because limited. This transition the Kâshmîrî Shaivas predicate to be effected by Shakti acting in her aspect of the Principle of Negation in a limited form, *viz.*, Obscuration, a power or force which they call Mâyâ (illusion), and illustrate by the human experience of falling asleep after activity, when everything becomes obscure, except the experience of the existence of the reality of Nothing (*Shûnya*, non-existence[1] as an abstract reality). Shiva, as the Experiencer, in passing under the action of Shakti in Her aspect of Mâyâ, experiences in the process changes in His countless relations with the Universe, of which there are five distinctly definable types, *viz.*, the Five Primary Relations of Shiva with the whole Universe, following in a general sense, Mr Chatterji's renderings:

(i) Coevality, continuous presence with and therefore experience of the whole Universe (*nityatva*, eternity).
(ii) All-pervasion, unrestricted access to and operation on the whole Universe (*vyâpakatva*, omnipresence).
(iii) All-interest, equal interest in the whole of the Universe, and therefore all-satisfaction in it without any experience of a want (*pûrnatva*, fullness).
(iv) All-consciousness, all-knowledge and all-vision of the whole Universe (*sarvagyatva* (*sarvajñatva*), omniscience).
(v) All-creatorship (*sarvakartritva*).

When, therefore, Shiva has come completely under the action of Shakti, in Her aspect of Mâyâ, the change that takes place in His experience is in these primary relations with the whole Universe.

[1] This is the Mahâyâna Buddhist doctrine also.

The Five Primary Changes or Five Limitations:

(i) Limited access and operation, which produce restriction and regulation, limiting the space available for access and operation (*niyati*, "the determinant of where").
(ii) Limited coevality, which produces the experience of past, present, and future, *i.e.*, limited duration, time (*kâla*, "counting, flowing: the determinant of when").
(iii) Limited interest, which produces dissatisfaction as interest moves from one thing to another (*râga*, attachment to specific things, attention).
(iv) Limited consciousness or knowledge (*vidyâ* or *gyâna*, *jñâna*).
(v) Limited creatorship (*kalâ*, art, limited power of creation).

These Five Limitations taken with Mâyâ are usually known in the Trika Philosophy as the Six Kanchukas or Sheaths of Purusha, the Limited Individual Soul, and form six stages (*tattva*) in the development of the Universe, usually numbered six to eleven.

The result then of the action of Mâyâ as Illusion is first to bring about a change in the experienced, *i.e.*, in the Universal unlimited Self or Soul (*Âtman*), because Shiva being a changeless reality cannot change: and thus the Self or Soul becomes realised by Him as also containing a Somewhat else, *i.e.*, the Non-Self (*Anâtman*). Secondly, it makes Shiva realise that the Non-Self is identical both with Him and the Self. Thirdly, it brings about His fivefold relation with the Universe, and fourthly, infects Him and therefore also the Self or Soul, as well as the Non-Self, with limitations. The action of Mâyâ is then predicated to cause Shiva, as the Experiencer, to "become entirely absorbed" in experiencing change, and thus to fall, as it were, into a dreamless sleep (*shûnya*, the experience of the reality of nothing), during which condition eternity (*nityatva*) is transformed into time (*kâla*); omnipresence (*vyâpakatva*) into restriction of space, regulation (*niyati*); all-interest, satisfaction (*pûrnatva*) into limited interest, dissatisfaction (*râga*); omniscience (*sarvagyatva*, *sarvajñatva*) into knowledge (*vidyâ*; *gyâna*, *jñâna*); and all-creatorship (*sarvakartritva*) into art (*kalâ*). It will be observed that much of this argument is predication, and that

it amounts to this: while Shiva is absorbed to absolute fatigue (entirely absorbed into dreamless sleep) in contemplating change, Mâyâ takes the opportunity to effect the change in His relations with the cosmos from the transcendental and unlimited to the material and limited.

In the course therefore of the general process of cosmic expansion (*âbhâsa*), carried thus far by the action of Mâyâ, Shiva, manifested as the unlimited Experiencer, or the unlimited Self or Soul, is by it transformed into the manifestation of a limited Experiencer, *i.e.*, into an individual Self or Soul (*purusha*, man, he), while retaining all His attributes as the Ultimate, including the power of infinite expansion. The effect of the action of Mâyâ is, therefore, to make the manifestation of Shiva alternate continuously and without limitation between unlimited and limited experiences. Thus is brought about His expansion into an infinite number of differentiated individual Souls without diminution of His unlimited Self or Soul; though, owing to its limitation, each individual Soul realises itself as differentiated and even separated from and independent of every other individual Soul. But as the Source from which the individual Souls, each and all, spring is one and the same undiminished Reality, Shiva, the differentiation, separation and independence, *i.e.*, the division and the individuality, is not real, but only apparent (Mâyâ, Illusion). This action of Mâyâ, therefore, causes Shiva, in His aspect of the unlimited Universal Self or Soul, to bring into existence an infinite number of individual Souls. But in another aspect, Shiva is omnipresent and therefore non-spatial, and He is further identical with each and all of the individual Souls. They also, therefore, are non-spatial entities (*anu*). This is what the Shaivas refer to in describing the Trika Philosophy as relating to the triple principle of Shiva, Shakti (Mâyâ) and Anu, the non-spatial entity, the Soul. It is in this way that the process of development of the manifestation of the Universe is advanced another stage, to the twelfth (*purusha*), the individual Soul.

It has been above pointed out that in the first instance

the result of the action of Mâyâ is to bring about a twofold change in the experience of Shiva, the Experiencer. That is, it causes Him to experience that, though He is a changeless Reality, the Universal Self or Soul (*Âtman*), in spite of being one and the same as Himself, is capable of change; and therefore the Universal Soul must have a relation to Somewhat else resulting from the change, *i.e.*, to the Non-Self or Non-Soul (*Anâtman*). Secondly, it has been pointed out that when limited by the action of Mâyâ, the Universal Soul (Âtman) is changed into the individual soul (*purusha*, he). Therefore, because there has thus taken place a limitation of Him as the Unlimited Soul, there must be a Somewhat left over, *viz.*, the Non-Self or Non-Soul (*Anâtman*), which, since the limited Soul is a non-spatial point, must be the Universe itself, and there must be also a relation between the limited Soul and the Non-Soul. Then, as under the action of Mâyâ all things are limited, the relations between the limited or individual Soul are restricted to a limited Non-Soul (Prakriti, Nature, She, in her aspect as the equipoise)[1]. The manifestation of the Limited or Individual Soul is obviously subjective, and therefore the limited Non-Soul is objective in reference to her relations with him. Thus does the combination of the individual Soul and the individual Non-Soul, Purusha and Prakriti, become the familiar equipoised Subject-Object of philosophy, the female Non-Soul, Prakriti, affecting the male Soul, Purusha, just as Shakti, as Herself or as Mâyâ, affects Shiva.

The general cosmical result, therefore, of the action of Mâyâ is to make the limited Soul the experiencer and the limited Non-Soul, or equipoised Nature, the experienced, and the relations between them negative; *i.e.*, the experience is neither motionless, nor motive, nor vague (*i.e.*, neither the one nor the others). In other words, the experience is neither inactive,

1 It will be perceived that the Soul (*purusha*, soul of man) is limited only so long as the Soul is under the action of Mâyâ (Illusion). If the Soul can be withdrawn from this action, the Soul can revert to his original higher condition to be re-absorbed in Shiva. In other words, the soul can be released. It is the object of the Yôga practices to obtain that release (*môksha*).

nor active, nor inert, *i.e.*, it is incapable of inactivity, activity or vagueness. It just exists as an experience of an equilibrium. The experiencer thus experiences neither bliss (*sukha*, inactive pleasure), nor passion (*duhkha*, active pain), nor delusion as to the existence of either of these (*môha*). This is to say that the experience of the Non-Soul is that of equipoise. But equipoise implies a balance between elements, in this case between bliss, passion and delusion. Therefore these must have existence, however abstract, and as they exist they must have a cause or causes. In the Trika Philosophy the causes are predicated to be goodness or virtue (*sattva*, purity), evil passion or vice (*rajas*, foulness) and darkness or ignorance (*tamas*, blindness), being collectively termed the factors (*guna*, thread, ingredient, feature); and the Non-Soul or Nature is held to be the equipoise of the above three factors. Thus is reached the all-important thirteenth stage, Prakriti, in the evolution of the Universe, by a process which is predicated to create the actual bridge over the gap between the universal and the individual, or between the abstract and the concrete. These two stages, Purusha and Prakriti, form the third group in the cosmic evolution, and the stages which follow are, as Mr Chatterji points out, those of the old Sânkhya Philosophy with slight modification due to the fundamental differences between Dualism and Monism; the former holding that the conception of the universal, or pure and perfect, process in evolution (*samashti*, collective) is separable from that of the individual, or impure and imperfect, process (*vyashti*, distributive); the latter that it is inseparable.

From this point onwards the process of evolution is that described in the old Sânkhya Philosophy, with such differences as are due to its being viewed through spectacles supplied to Kâshmîrî Shaivas by the Trika Philosophy. The first of these stages in the general evolution, the 14th, 15th and 16th, are taken together as the fourth group, the Three Capacities of Mental Operation (*antahkarana*, the inner organ), which are known in consecutive order as the judgment (*buddhi*), the ego (*ahankâra*, I) and the mind (*manas*).

The group commences with the experience of abstract consciousness (*purusha* as affected by *prakriti*, or limited individual Self or Soul), and Mr Chatterji explains its further progress by a long and important illustration, which may be briefly stated as follows:

When an object, say a cow, is first perceived, *i.e.*, when there is experience of perceiving her, a complicated process consisting of a series of operations is set up in the reverse of the real order of evolution: *i.e.*, they are set up in the mind (*manas*) moved by the ego (*ahankâra*), which again is moved by the judgment (*buddhi*). Four of these operations or groups of observations can be clearly and separately defined. Thus, firstly there is the operation of attention: that is to say the limited individual Self and Soul (*purusha*) in his aspect of abstract consciousness, hitherto dormant in reference to this particular object, has his attention called to it, *viz.*, to the cow, through the mind, and perceives her by a second operation, *i.e.*, by selection (*bhêda*) from all other objects perceptible at the same time. Selection of one object to the exclusion of others involves seeking for it, *i.e.*, desire (*êshana* or *sankalpa*), even if only subconsciously. This in its turn involves an intention of using, also even if subconsciously, the selected object for building up a mental image thereof, which brings about Sensation—not, indeed, abstract Sensation, but Sensation as the result of an operation of the senses (*âlôchana*).

However, what has been thus arrived at is merely an abstract sense-image. To make it a concrete reality, something must be supplied to the individual Self or Soul, for and in whom the abstract image has been built up by the mind. This something can be supplied only by the individual Self or Soul from within, and is so supplied as the result of a third operation, *i.e.*, by the action of memory of experience, stored up in consequence of a series of past situations to which the experiencer has been subjected. So the experiencer realises the image to be that of something which is thus known to him by the name of a cow. That is to say, that the image has in this way been identified; but the identification

can go further, if it is realised by a similar process of memory of past experiences endowed with something of the experiencer's Self, *i.e.*, if it is realised not merely as a cow, but as *his* cow. Such a process of memory brings the image into his own Self, because it is referred to what already belongs to him. But this process of memory does not quite complete the image. All that the experiencer has really done so far is to identify an image as belonging to something that is his,—that it is not *ipso facto* something that belongs to the specific object called a cow. To realise that the image is really that of the specific object called a cow, a fourth operation is called into play, as the experiencer must have stored up from past experiences a standard of reference having experience of the species called "Cow," and this implies the existence in the experiencer's Self or Soul of something which enables him to judge that the image is that of a cow, or of his cow, as the case may be. This in its turn implies the existence within the Self or Soul of Judgment (*buddhi*).

Of the four mental operations, or rather groups of operations, thus illustrated, the first, creation of sensation, is obviously due to the action of the senses; the second, desire to select out of sensations, so as to build up a specific image, is due to the action of the mind (*manas*); the third, memory, which identifies the image, is due to the action of the Ego (*ahankâra*); and the fourth, which supplies the standard of reference whereby the identification is completed and the image rendered concrete, is due to the action of Judgment, *i.e.*, to an impersonal or super-personal state of consciousness or experience (*buddhi*, intuition, sub-conscious knowledge), existing in the limited individual Self or Soul. The last three motive powers, whose activities are thus described, are in the Trika Philosophy gathered, as above stated, into the fourth group of steps in cosmic evolution in the real evolutionary order: *buddhi*, *ahankâra*, *manas*, or impersonal or super-personal consciousness, personality, mind. It is the super-personal consciousness, the subconsciousness of modern Western philosophy, that the *yôgîs* and *yôginîs* of India claim to be able to experience at will, as the result of lifelong self-

training in the physical and mental practices enjoined by the Yôga Philosophy or rather, Religion[1].

In the 14th stage (*tattva*) of cosmic evolution, therefore, the limited individual Self or Soul (*purusha*) is in the condition of impersonal or super-personal consciousness, otherwise called subconsciousness or trance, *i.e.*, beyond the body: a condition distinguishable from that produced by the Senses, which are of the body, and are for that reason placed in the Trika Philosophy in a subsequent group apart. The power of placing the Self or Soul in the condition of being beyond the body is claimed, as just stated, to be attainable at will by the *yôgî* or *yôginî*, and the nearest approach to this condition attainable by other beings occurs on first awakening from sleep before the Ego asserts itself: that is to say, the condition in which the limited individual Self or Soul (*purusha*) still realises himself as an abstract being limited only by the Non-Soul (*prakriti*, as the equipoise in Nature) before he realises himself as a concrete limited being, limited also by the Ego (*ahankâra*, the experience of being "I"). Now, the limited Self or Soul cannot of himself sleep, so the fact of sleeping must be the result, as already explained, of the action of the Non-Soul in her aspect of equipoise. Therefore the act of waking must be the result of a disturbance (*kshôbha*) of the Non-Soul, which is otherwise essentially inert, being in equipoise. This disturbance, too, must be the consequence of something acting outside the Soul, such as rest acquired by the body through sleep acting on the inert Non-Soul; and the first result of this disturbance is subconsciousness (*buddhi*) which cannot contain anything else than the memory of the state of the Soul, which preceded the sleep. The experience of subconsciousness on waking is therefore a new effect on the Soul through the disturbance

[1] Mr Chatterji remarks that it has been stated that Tennyson, by repeating his own name slowly, a process analogous to one of the practices of the *yôgîs*, was able to put himself into a trance or state of super-personal consciousness or subconsciousness, which produced an experience of being beyond personality, in which state he was in a condition of perfect peace and quiet, so long as the rhythmic repetition of his name was maintained.

of equipoise in the Non-Soul or Prakriti, whereby her dominant feature (*guna*, ingredient) is subconscious enjoyment (*sattva*, subconscious goodness), so that her other two features, energy for good or evil (*rajas*) and ignorance (*tamas*, darkness), are held in abeyance. All this is to say that Buddhi is an experience of mere existence (*sattâ-mâtra*) produced by Prakriti without any experience of the Ego (*ahankâra*).

The 14th stage of cosmic evolution, or general consciousness in the limited individual Self or Soul (*buddhi*), leads imperceptibly to the 15th stage, in which is developed special consciousness of surroundings in relation to the concrete Self (*ahankâra*, I), *i.e.*, the experience of the limited individual Self or Soul as being a specialised Self called "I," and not another. Consciousness of surroundings involves the selection of such as are experienced as belonging to the concrete Soul. This is accomplished by a process of appropriation, through self-arrogation (*abhimâna*, experiencing or thinking about things) so that Ahankâra as the abstract Ego or I is really the Power or Energy of Self-Arrogation. Therefore, as a power or energy which makes the Ego or I possible as a concrete experience, Ahankâra is a product of Prakriti, who in her turn is a product of Shakti, the Energy of Shiva: that is to say the abstract Ego or I (*ahankâra*) is identifiable with Shiva.

Therefore, left to itself, Ahankâra, as the abstract Ego, is inert; its experiencer, Purusha as the limited Soul, is doing no more than taking stock of himself and surroundings. This "static condition" leads, however, by the mere fact of stocktaking to an experience of movement of thought or resolve, so that the feature (*guna*) of Prakriti, which becomes thus dominant, is *rajas* (passion, suffering), while the other two, *sattva* (pure consciousness of enjoyment) and *tamas* (ignorance), are in abeyance, because Prakriti predicates a condition of equipoise; so where one of her features is dominant, the other must be relegated to the background[1].

The fact of movement of thought or resolve of itself

[1] Mr Chatterji points out that in the old Buddhist philosophy the individual being was made up of ingredients (*nâma-rûpa*, identification and form) held together by Ahankâra, the Ego.

involves a change in the United Self or Soul (*purusha*) from the absolute static condition to a dynamic: that is to say, it causes the cosmic evolution to pass from the 15th to the 16th stage (*tattva*), in which the passive Ego (Ahankâra) produces the active Manas, the Mind, whose function is to build up internal concrete images for the Ego as fast as the Senses supply the objects from the external Universe. By moving from sense to sense (attention) and co-ordinating the senses, the Mind produces sensation or mental images for the Ego. The Mind or Manas, and the Mind only, can supply the attention, co-ordinate the required senses and build up the concrete mental pictures. It is thus "the concreting and synthetising" power of the Ego or Ahankâra in which the third feature of Prakriti, *tamas* (ignorance, delusion, or blindness) is dominant, leaving the other two in abeyance.

It is to be observed that the activities of the mind (*manas*) in building up images for the experiencer, the Ego, are not in themselves either illuminating or intelligent or mobile. They are just unintelligent gropings in the dark, until the Experiencer, *i.e.*, the Ego, identifies himself with the activities and the pictures they build up for him, by means of the memory of his first experiences (*buddhi*). It is for this reason, too, that in the working of the mind (*manas*) the feature of Prakriti most prominent is blindness (*tamas*). But though the mind, left to itself, can only be active in a blind way, it provides "an experience of seeking, however unintelligently. It is therefore the seat of desire (*êshana* or *sankalpa*). Manas is desire incarnate."

In the Trika Philosophy the mind (*manas*) is held not to be the only product of the Ego (*ahankâra*), for by him are produced, *i.e.* he possesses, the five senses: hearing, feeling (touch), sight, taste and smell; that is to say, the Ego is held to possess a fivefold capacity or power (*indriya*) or sense of perception. The Ego is also held to possess a corresponding fivefold capacity of power (also *indriya*) of acting on the perception; and as there is a fivefold capacity or power of sense-perception, there must be a fivefold object to be per-

ceived or exciting cause (*tanmâtra*, element of causation). These the Kâshmîrî Shaivas group together in three groups of stages (*tattva*) in cosmic evolution, *viz.*, Nos. V, VI, VII, the stages themselves being numbered respectively 17 to 21, 22 to 26, 27 to 31. This is to say that they predicate the existence of a group of ten capacities or powers (*indriya*), and five causative elements (*tanmâtra*). The capacities or powers are obviously divisible into two halves, receptive and motor; *viz.*, the receptive (*buddhîndriya*), which produce in the Ego (*ahankâra*) a knowledge (*buddhi*) of the existence of the causative elements (*tanmâtra*), and the motor (*karmêndriya*) which produce action (*karma*) in the Ego in consequence of the knowledge produced by the receptive powers or capacities[1].

By sense-capacity or power (*indriya*) the Kâshmîrî Shaivas understand the Soul (*purusha*) behind the personality (*ahankâra*). That is to say, there is an activity of the Soul behind the activity of the Ego as manifested in the senses and in action produced by the senses. This theory predicates that the receptive capacities or powers (*buddhîndriya*) exactly correspond with the motor (*karmêndriya*), *viz.*, hearing with speech, touch with grasp, sight with locomotion, taste with excretion, smell with sexual action[2].

[1] This appears to amount to a philosophy of the nervous system, and as such does not quite tally with the fundamental facts as ascertained by modern Western physiology, which may be stated as follows. In sentient bodies there exist nerve-cells connected with two classes of nerves, afferent nerves communicating from without inwards to the cells and efferent nerves communicating from the cells outwards. In Indian terminology these nerves are actuated by the *indriyas* (nerve-powers) acting with and for the *ahankâra* (the Self or Ego), themselves actuated by outside causes (*tanmâtra*). But in Western physiology the evolutionary order is not necessarily that predicated in Indian (Sânkhya, Trika, Buddhist) philosophy, *viz.*: (1) outside cause, (2) communication by afferent nerves to the nerve-cells, *i.e.*, to the Ego as will-power, and (3) action by the Ego through efferent nerves, or *vice versâ*; because the spino-cerebral nerve-cells can and do originate unconscious action without reference to outside causes or to the Ego as will-power, while the nerve-cells situated in ganglia in different parts of the body habitually do so.

[2] Such, as I understand it from Mr Chatterji's exposition (pp. 118 ff.), is the Kâshmîrî Shaiva view, but it is not necessary to state the connection thus, because satisfaction follows on the gratification of any desire (*lôbha*), concrete or abstract, physical or mental, *e.g.*, hunger, thirst, jealousy, ambition, etc.

It also predicates that the result of sense-action consequent on sense-perception is satisfaction or "overwhelming sense of restfulness," and that the real motive power behind the action is subconscious desire (*êshana*) of the Soul (*purusha*) acting through the Ego (*ahankâra*) and the mind (*manas*) to obtain the satisfaction and the restfulness. It is argued that this is so, because, in the case of physical disablement, the Soul finds other physical means of satisfying his desire. In India the *yôgîs* and *yôginîs*, by self-education in directions analogous to the hypnotism of the West, claim to be able to accomplish all that can be done by "the physical organs connected with the senses without the use of them," *i.e.*, that the Soul within them can be made to act at their will without the intervention of their personality.

It will have been perceived then that the motive power behind sense-action is predicated to be Desire for rest, through satisfaction, and that Desire (*êshana*) is the experience of seeking provided by the Mind. Now, Desire as an experience cannot be inert. Something must be desired, *i.e.*, there must be desire to perceive or act. So the sense-capacity or power (*indriya*) evolved by the Soul simultaneously with the Mind out of the Ego assumes the tenfold receptive-active form above noted. Again, it will have been perceived that the tenfold capacity of power thus evolved cannot of itself exist passively, *i.e.*, there must be Something (*tanmâtra*) to perceive or act upon. On this it is argued that, on the production of the Mind, the Ego assumes a triple form—desire, sense-capacity, causative element; *e.g.*, as Mr Chatterji says, I desire (*manas*) to see (*indriya*) some colour (*tanmâtra*, notion), the "I" being the "*Ahankâra* in the background." All these, *i.e.*, the Ego and all his forms, including the mind, are ultimately modifications of the Soul in this way. The Ego himself is a product of the Soul, as above pointed out, and the Mind and the Sense-Capacities or Powers are obviously products of the Ego, while the causative element is also a form of the Ego, "realised as something projected outside." It is held that it cannot be anything else than a form of the Ego, because it has come to the Ego as his own perception

through his own Sense-Capacity evolved by himself. It is thus the Ego's (*ahankâra's*) own, and therefore belongs to his own Self (*purusha*).

All this is arguable philosophically in the way just described, because in this stage of cosmic evolution the five causative elements (*tanmâtra*), corresponding to the five senses, are only notions, *i.e.*, they are all abstract ideas, as sound, feeling, colour, flavour, and odour. And the fact that there are such existences as abstract causative elements of sense (*tanmâtra*) has provided an argument for their recognition (*buddhi*) as such by the Ego, as the result of memory of experiences in a former existence of the experiencing Soul (*purusha*) behind the experiencing Ego (*ahankâra*). And so it is that, in the minds of those who follow the Trika Philosophy, the argument for the actuality of a former existence is strengthened by the experience of every causative element (*tanmâtra*) being, on perception through a sense, thus referred by the Soul, through the Ego and the Mind, to a standard of reference already experienced, and so being recognised through memory as "only that" (*tanmâtra*) and nothing else.

The Soul through the Ego and the Mind having perceived the causative element through the action of his own sense-capacity (*gyânêndriya, jñânêndriya*) is predicated to react or respond through his Subconscious Desire (*êshana*) to obtain satisfaction or rest by means of his own sense-power (*karmêndriya*). This overwhelming Desire gives rise to instinctive action, strongly marked in many animals, by way of response to a cry of their own kind, and in all beings in such ways as the following: touching a spot on the body that is hurt or otherwise affected by outside influences (*tanmâtra*), moving away from or towards something coming or bursting into sight, spitting out what is distasteful, and so on. In this way, from the Mind are produced the reaction, or responses of the motor sense-powers (*karmêndriya*), which are in five categories corresponding to the five sense-capacities (*gyânêndriya, jñânêndriya*); *viz.*, speech, handling, locomotion, ejection (voiding), sexual action (satisfaction, rest).

The whole argument amounts to this. In the general

cosmic evolution the 16 stages (*tattva*) that follow the evolution of the Ego (*ahankâra*) are a threefold production of himself; *viz.*, firstly mind and the conscious senses (*manas* and *gyânêndriya, jñânêndriya*); secondly powers of action (*karmêndriya*) and thirdly the abstract causative elements (*tanmâtra*) acting on the senses. And as the Ego is evolved from the individual Soul (*purusha*), himself evolved from the unlimited Soul (*Âtman*), the evolution is regarded by the Kâshmîrî Shaivas as carried back to the ultimate Supreme, Parama Shiva Himself, who is one with all the Products and they with Him.

The limited individual Soul (*purusha*) in his aspect of the Ego (*ahankâra*), having, in the course of the general cosmic evolution thus transcendentally evolved the Mind (*manas*), and the Conscious Senses (*gyanêndriya, jñânêndriya*) or powers of experiencing the elements of outside things, as co-efficients of the Mind, and also the powers of acting on the experience thus acquired (*karmêndriya*), and the Elements themselves (*tanmâtra*), is still incomplete for want of "materialisation." The required completion of the Soul is predicated to be accomplished by the action of the Five Factors of Materiality or Physical Orders (*bhûta*, that which has grown; that which has been, *not* that which is). These five factors form the eighth and last group of stages (*tattva*), Nos. 32 to 36, in the cosmic evolution. They are predicated to be brought into play, firstly by the action of the Law of Custom or Habit (*âchâra*) due to Mâyâ (illusion, or the negative self-effacing aspect of Shakti, abstract Power), which is predicated to act thus:

Custom or habit causes the Mind of the Ego to lose consciousness of that which is continuously perceived in a general way by the senses[1]. It is then predicated that the limited Soul behind the Ego, from which indeed the Ego is himself produced, has an eager desire (*sankalpa*) to perceive again.

[1] *Yôgîs*, however, claim to acquire by self-education the power of keeping perception of the causative elements in mind without loss of consciousness thereof.

But that cannot happen so long as that which is perceived remains a continuous unvaried general perception. There must, therefore, arise a variation in that which is perceived, in order to induce further perception when once consciousness of perception is lost. Such variation is possible, "because every general perception must contain all the elements of particulars," *i.e.*, a capacity for variety. Perception thus passes from experience of the general to that of the particular, due to the existence of variety in the general. When there is mere perception of particulars they are not localised, but are in all directions (*dishah*) in the Wide, or empty Space, or Void (*avakâsha*) as distinguished from filled-up Space, giving rise to "relativity of positions" (*dêsha*)[1]. The result, therefore, of "the experience of variety in uniformity" is an experience of the existence of the Wide, unfilled Space, or Void, which is to say an experience of the existence of Nothing (*shûnya*), *i.e.*, of Vacuity, Empty Space, Ethereality, Ether (*âkâsha*),—in other words, of the Principle of Vacuity, the first of the Five *Bhûtas*, or Physical Factors[2].

This line of argument is connected through a predication by the Kâshmîrî Shaivas with the experience of the causative element of Sound (*shabda-tanmâtra*), whence their saying, that "from the variety produced in the element of Sound there is produced the principle of Vacuity" (*âkâsha*).

Similarly the experience of variation in the causative element (*tanmâtra*) of Feeling (*sparsha*), in its most "ethereal"

[1] In a long note at this point Mr Chatterji argues on this that ether (*âkâsha*) consists of lines (*dishah*, directions) of forces radiating everywhere, called "the hairs of Shiva." Hence his title of Vyômakêsha or "Haired with a web of diversity": *i.e.*, with Space made up of lines or directions (*dishah*), an idea of Space to be found in the *Upanishads* and even in the *Vêdas*. The "hairs of Shiva" are recognised by him in the "Lines of Force" of Western philosophic and scientific argument; *e.g.*, in the lines radiating from the poles of a magnet, which, being cut by a conductor, give rise to an electric current. The apparently intimate connection of electricity with ether (*âkâsha*) suggests to him that the lines of the magnetic field are connected with the "directions" called *dishah*, which thus become the lines of Ethereal Energy.

[2] As Mr Chatterji suggests, this does not, however, give Âkâsha quite the same sense as that of the Western term Ether, because Ether is capable of vibration, movement, whereas Âkâsha is held to be without movement and entirely inert.

form of temperature, produces the experience of the existence of Aeriality (*vâyu*), because the variety can only be caused by movements in the atmosphere (also *vâyu*), regarded as Space.

Similarly also the experience of variation of the causative element of Colour (*rûpa*) can produce nothing but the experience of Form or Shape (also *rûpa*), because there can be no shade or variation of Colour experienced without also experiencing Form or Shape. Therefore philosophically Colour is Form and Form is Colour, whence the same term for both. Now, the experience of Form involves the experience of an Energy that builds up, transforms or destroys Form, and hence Colour, with which it is identical. So the experience of Colour is the experience of the Energy that causes it. This Energy is predicated to be that of combustion (*jvalana*) or chemical action (*pâka*), technically associated with fire (*agni*). Combustion, Chemical Action, Fire are therefore names for the Energy that builds up, transforms, or destroys forms; *i.e.*, the real abstract term should be Formativity (*agni*). Consequently the experience of variety in the causative element of Colour ultimately produces the experience of the existence of Formativity.

Variation in the experience of the causative element (*tanmâtra*) of Flavour (*rasa*) produces the experience of moisture, as an invariable accompaniment: *i.e.*, it produces the experience of the existence of the Principle of Liquidity (*ap*)[1].

Lastly, variation in the experience of the causative element (*tanmâtra*) of Odour (*gandha*) is predicated to produce the experience of approaching and sticking or staying on as an indissoluble attachment, in contradistinction from the experience attached to the sense-perceptions of sound, feeling, colour, and taste, which are all motor, whereas the experience

[1] This argument leaves out of view the physical action of the salivary glands, actuated by efferent nerves situated in ganglia, and so acting independently of the Ego as will-power. The argument cannot, therefore, tally with Western Physiology, especially as these glands act not only on contact with a concrete outside object in the mouth, but also on a vapour or gas emanating from or produced by an outside object situated at a distance in Space, or by the mere contemplation of the existence of such an object.

in this case is definitely static. In other words, the experience is that of Stability, involving the Principle of Solidity (*prithivî*), of which "such further experiences, as hardness, roughness, pressure, weight, and so on," are subsidiary developments[1].

In this way the Trika Philosophy argues the evolution of the Five Principles or Factors of Experience—Ethereality, Aeriality, Formativity, Liquidity and Solidity—out of the Causative Elements of Sense-Perception. In other words, the ingredients of the apparently material or physical Universe are thus evolved from the immaterial or super-physical Universe. These ingredients are the Five Bhûtas (those that have grown). The one other ingredient necessary for completing the evolution, the Principle of Vitality or Life (*prâna*) is ever present in it; because it is inherent in the first stage (*Shiva-tattva*) and forms thus the essence of the Power (*shakti*), which makes possible in the second stage (*Shakti-tattva*) all subsequent stages, since every link in the whole chain of evolution is a production, link by link and stage by stage, of that which preceded it. The physical Universe is therefore "but an aggregate of countless combinations and permutations of varieties of Sound, Feeling, Colour or Form, Flavour and Odour." These combinations and permutations are called *vishaya* (objects of sense), and are held to come into manifestation from varieties produced in the causative elements (*tanmâtra*). Finally, as the Five Principles of Experience (*bhûta*), they make up the physical Universe. So also the rest of the principles (*tattva*) make up the super-physical and transcendental Universe.

In the Trika Philosophy, above and beyond everything and every concept, "transcending and yet pervading and permeating all," is the figure of Parama Shiva or Parâ Samvid (the Supreme Experience), "beyond and unaffected by all time, space and relation, and alone making the existence of

[1] Weight, however, in the Western view, involves consideration of another subject altogether, as it is really the measure of the Earth's attraction of a body outside the Earth towards itself.

the manifested Universe possible" by a process of logical experiencing out by stages, each pre-disposing and involving all its predecessors, and also remaining intact and unaffected by all its successors. This is to say, Shiva Himself permeates every thing and every concept in the whole physical and super-physical Universe, and also every stage (*tattva*) of evolution; and so does each successive stage permeate all its successors and the Universe. There is therefore a process of "Involution" going on throughout all the Evolution.

The procession of the stages (*tattva*), however, involves something more than a process of involute evolution; *i.e.*, it involves a multiplication of units. This is to say that, in the Trika Philosophy, after the first six, from Shiva to Mâyâ, the stages cease to be single; with Purusha and his female twin Prakriti, and his fivefold Sheath or Veil (*kanchuka*, principle of limitation), they become individual and mutually exclusive, *i.e.*, multiple individualities, deriving from one individual. This again is to say that the result of the process of cosmic evolution from Shiva through the limited individual Soul (*purusha*) by the stages known as the Tattvas is ultimately to produce unlimited differentiation combined with evolution, and to turn the Tattvas into units: in other words, to produce units in unlimited numbers, each permeated with Shiva Himself.

The principle of involute differentiation is necessarily carried on through all the subsequent stages up to the last—the evolution of the Principle of Solidity. But, as in the Trika Philosophy the Purusha or individual Soul is held to be an ultimate atom or "non-spatial point" (*anu*), he can but remain such on evolution as a unit (*tattva*) into Solidity (*prithivî*). This final unit thus becomes in fact an ultimate atom of the Solid (*prithivî*), acting on and interacting with indefinitely numerous other similar atomic units, each of which is permeated with Shiva. Between them they form collectively the Prithivî (Earth, world) similarly permeated[1].

[1] As Mr Chatterji suggests, this argument leads to a particular method of obtaining Release (*mukti*) by *yôgîs*, called *ânavôpâya* (getting rid of the atoms from the soul).

The collective action of the Tattva units is predicated in the Trika Philosophy to take place by classes or groups, which thus become separate entities of the same nature as their components, and are called *tattvêshas*, lords of the *tattvas* or *adhishthâtri dêvatâs*, presiding deities. It is the *tattvêsha* of the inert Prakriti (Nature) Group that causes the disturbance ((*kshôbha*) which renders active the Prakriti attendant on an individual Soul (*purusha*).

At this point in the argument Mr Chatterji breaks off at great length to enforce a claim that the presentation of the cosmic evolution by the Trika Philosophy can, by true philosophic reflection, be comprehended as a rational theory, having a bearing on practical life, and that its stages are realised subconsciously by every human being during every moment of life. He commences the statement of his claim by an interesting illustration:

"For instance, as I am writing this [at Jammu] and occasionally looking out of my window, I am perceiving a brick building at a distance and a tall and fine date-palm tree waving in the wind, its leaves sounding pleasantly as they are moving. Now in this very perception even of these trivial things, I am experiencing, however dimly and implicitly, the existence of the whole series of the Tattvas [stages in the cosmic evolution]."

And then he proceeds to show, point by point, how the truth of the Philosophy comes home to the Hindu. I have, however, resisted the temptation to give an abstract of his argument here. Those interested will find it in his book, pp. 149–162.

The Kâshmîrî Shaivas, or the more serious of them, are not, and never have been satisfied with the subconscious realisation of the stages in cosmic evolution leading up to that of the Supreme Universal Reality, Parama Shiva Himself, usually named simply Shiva. They have always endeavoured to reach direct conscious realisation by a system of self-culture, mental, moral, spiritual and physical, known as Yôga (discipline, restraint), which it is claimed enables an individual Soul (*purusha*) to shake off the limitations

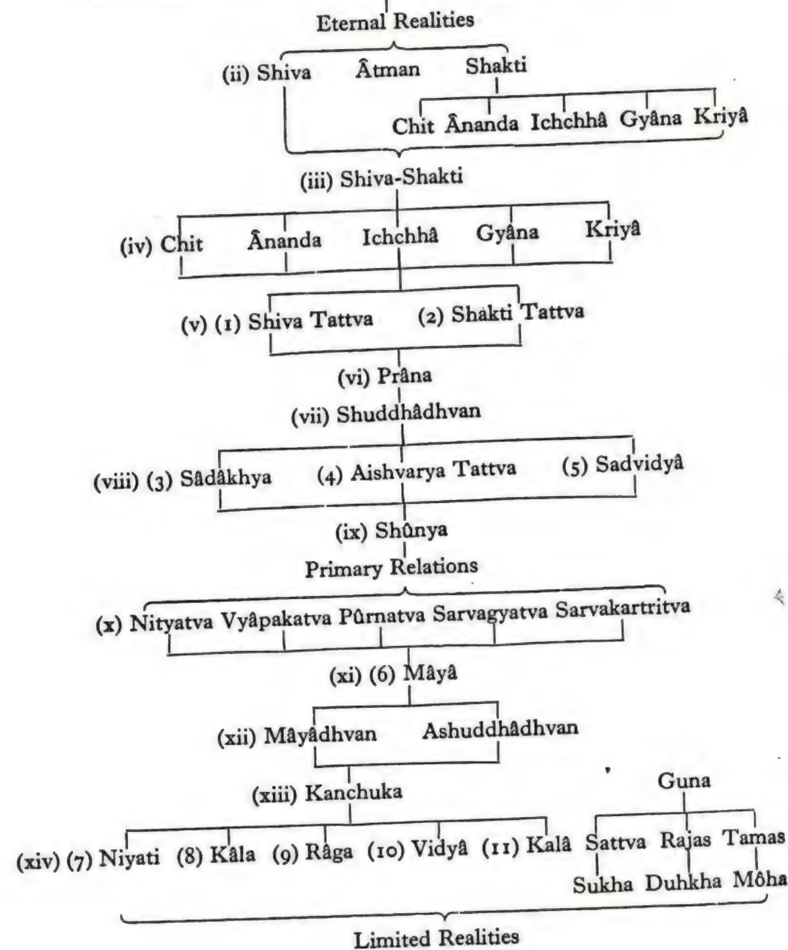
hedging in the Ego (*ahankâra*), in which it is temporarily housed. It is claimed that a *yôgî*, self-trained in this manner, can clearly and by direct experience realise all the stages in cosmic evolution up to the Supreme Himself. It is for this reason that the Kâshmîrî Shaivas affirm that the Tattvas and "their true nature first came to be known" through the direct experience of *yôgîs* self-trained in Yôga, and not by logical inference. The Tattvas are thus held to be realities and not abstractions or inferences. Logic and reasoning, it is believed, were only applied to the direct experiences of the *yôgîs* after they had been promulgated, in order to show that it was not necessary to accept them "as revelation, or as a matter of faith." This is to say that logic applied in this matter of revelation produces no other result than that produced by revelation itself.

If, however, the revelation claimed is logical, one should be able to draw up a table of the descent or development of the 36 Tattvas, translated as "stages." But if one attempts to do so, one soon finds that "stage" is not a correct translation of the term *tattva*, because most of the *tattvas* are not in a line of descent, but are contemporary; *e.g.*, (1) Shiva Tattva and Shakti Tattva, (2) Sâdâkhya and Sadvidyâ, (3) the five Kanchukas, (4) Purusha and Prakriti, (5) Buddhi, Ahankâra and Manas, (6) the five Buddhîndriyas, (7) the five Karmêndriyas, (8) the five Tanmâtras, and (9) the five Bhûtas. It would seem, therefore, that "point" is a better translation of *tattva* than "stage." But the former is well settled now and has been adopted here.

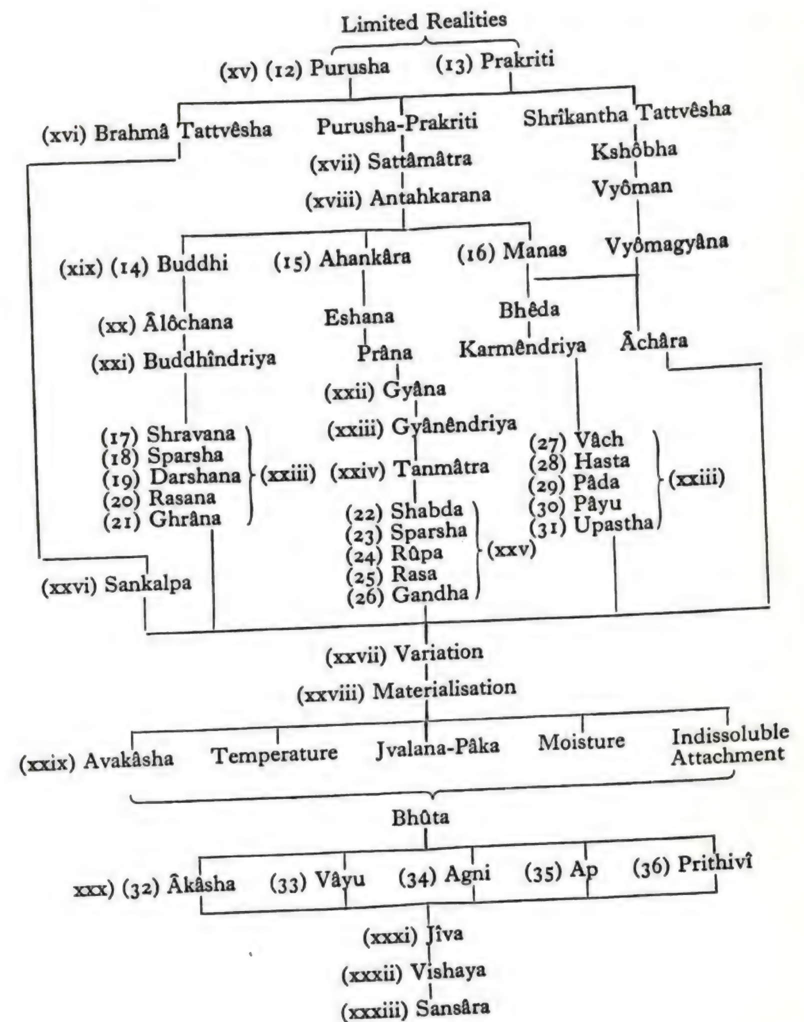
On drawing up a table of the real stages in the argument of the Trika Philosophy, it has been found that from Parama Shiva (God, the Ultimate Supreme) to Sansâra (the Universe) or *vice versâ* there are 33 real stages of development, according to the information in the foregoing pages, but they differ from the 36 Tattvas. In order to bring this out, a table is now given, showing the stages and the Tattvas together, in which the stages have Roman numbers attached to them and the Tattvas ordinary numbers.

A TABLE OF THE TRIKA PHILOSOPHY

N.B. In this Table the terms gyâna, sarvagyatva, vyômagyâna, gyânêndriya are also commonly written jñâna, sarvajñatva, vyômajñâna, and jñânêndriya.



A TABLE OF THE TRIKA PHILOSOPHY (continued)



DOCTRINE

As Lallâ was a Shaiva *yôginî* or professed female practitioner of the Yôga discipline, and as her Word, the *Lallâ-vâkyâni*, is full of allusions to Yôga doctrine, it is necessary to explain what that was, and in so doing I will follow the expressions in Dr L. D. Barnett's excellent disquisition on the subject.

The object of Yôga is to emancipate by discipline the individual Soul (*purusha*) from its bondage to the material Universe (*prakriti*), in which last term is included the Mental Organism (*chitta*, thought). The emancipation is effected by a mental and bodily discipline culminating in a spiritual transformation (*kaivalya*, isolation) which is salvation, bringing about a permanent intuition revealing the essential distinction (*vivêka*) between the Soul and the Universe.

Thought (*chitta*) is predicated to have five intellectual and five moral functions (*vritti*). The intellectual functions (*vritti*) are (1) right judgment of real things (*pramâna*); (2) false judgment of real things (*viparyaya*); (3) imagination without corresponding reality, based on mere words (*vikalpa*); (4) sleep, the negative action that occurs in sleep, based on no conception of reality (*nidrâ*); (5) memory, continuance of connection with an object that has been perceived (*smriti*). The five moral functions (*klêsha*, affliction) are (1) *avidyâ*, primal ignorance, the Soul imagining itself to be identical with the Mind (*chitta*); (2) the conception of "I am," egoism identifying the powers of the Soul and Matter (*asmitâ*); (3) material desire (*râga*); (4) hate (*dvêsha*); (5) clinging to embodied life (*abhinivêsha*). The moral functions, *i.e.*, the afflictions, move the subjects of thought, *i.e.*, man, constantly to works (*karma*) from which arise mental predispositions (*sanskâra*, *vâsanâ*) moving him to corresponding future works. So the vicious cycle goes on in birth after birth for ever, until escape, *i.e.*, salvation, can be found.

To gain salvation the Yôgî attempts to paralyse the intellectual functions of thought and wear down the moral functions by various ascetic exercises, termed the Eight Members (*ashtânga*). These eight exercises (*anga*, member) are (1) moral discipline in relation to others (*yama*); (2) moral discipline in relation to oneself (*niyama*); (3) suitable modes of sitting during meditation (*âsana*); (4) regulation of breathing (*prânâyâma*); (5) retracting the sense-organs from objects of sense (*pratyâhâra*); (6) negative fixation of Thought by pinning it to an object (*dhârana*); (7) meditation, positive fixation of Thought (*dhyâna*); (8) perfect stillness of Thought (*samâdhi*), in which all sense of individuality is extinguished. In the course of these the Yôgî is held to win various miraculous powers (*vibhûti*) in addition to the light of intuition (*pragyâlôka*, *prajñâlôka*).

The last three exercises collectively make the stage of training known as Samyama, and culminate in the condition styled "the stillness of the spirit with the seed" (*sabîja samâdhi*), *i.e.*, the seed of future activity of Thought and consequent works: or, what is nearly the same thing, the stillness of spirit (*sampragyâta* [*samprajñâta*] *samâdhi*), in which, however, the intellectual functions of Thought are not yet paralysed.

To attain the final stage, this kind of stillness (*samâdhi*) has to be converted into seedless (*nirbîja*) or unconscious (*asampragyâta*, *asamprajñâta*) stillness, a state of ecstasy, which is in three phases: (1) paralysis of intellectual functions (*nirodhâ-parinâma*), (2) cognition of a single object only, outward or inward (*samâdhi-parinâma*), (3) combination of arrest of thought and cognition of a single object only (*êkâgratâ-parinâma*). In the first of these the activity of the waking state of Thought is arrested and its intellectual functions are temporarily paralysed. In the second the power of Thought to relate itself to manifold objects is destroyed and its cognitions are restricted to a single object of inward and outward perception. In the third, the two previous conditions are combined in equal proportions.

These are permanent transformations, as a result of which all sense of objectivity disappears from the matter of Thought, leaving only the intuition of the distinction between the individual Soul (*purusha*) and the material Universe (*prakriti*),

wherein the Soul shines for ever in its perfectly pure and still radiance.

Such is an outline of the system of Yôga, but it was based on certain previous mystic conceptions of the natural and spiritual worlds, which may be classified broadly under two heads: (1) the theory of Nature (*prakriti*) and of salvation by means thereof, and (2) the practice of physical means supposed to be efficacious in attaining salvation.

In the Yogic theory the human body is conceived as a miniature or replica of the world without it. The forces by which this microcosm is controlled at the same time operate upon the macrocosm outside, and thus by certain physical and mental processes the Yôgî can win for himself, not only supernatural powers over his own body and mind, but also a miraculous control over the Universe, culminating in the complete translation of his Soul into the highest phase of Being, the Absolute, conceived by Shaivas as the Supreme Shiva, for ever and ever.

In the human body the vertebral column is conceived as Mount Mêru, the central mountain of Hindu cosmology. As the macrocosmic sun and moon are imagined to turn round Mêru, so we have a microcosmic sun and moon in the human body: the moon at the top of the vertebral column and the sun at its base.

Among the numerous veins or arteries (*nâdî*, stream)[1], there are three of supreme importance, Sushumnâ, Idâ and Pingalâ, which descend from the brain into the pit of the stomach, and between the groin and the navel is said to be a bulb (*kanda*) into which the veins (or arteries) debouch. It will be seen that these statements have no reference to actual physiological facts, nor will any of those that follow.

Sushumnâ is identified with Agni (fire). At the upper end of Idâ is the moon and they are identified. At the lower end

[1] There is no difference perceived between veins and arteries, as the principle of the circulation of the blood was not understood. The vehicles for containing the blood are often looked on as "passages."

of Pingalâ is the sun and they, too, are identified. These three veins are in immediate conjunction, Idâ being on the left hand of Sushumnâ and Pingalâ on the right. Sushumnâ rises vertically from the pelvic region along the vertebral column as far as the Brahmarandhra, the hollow above the base of the palate. There it bends round to the right of the Âgyâ (Âjñâ) circle between the eyebrows and passes up into the left nostril. In the centre of Sushumnâ is another stream (*nâdî*) called Chitrâ, which is said to be of five colours and to be the *upâdhi* (distinguishing property) of the body. The Brahmarandhra is the upper extremity of both the Sushumnâ and of the Chitrâ[1].

Sometimes Idâ is identified with the Ganges, Pingalâ with the Jamnâ, and Sushumnâ with the Sarasvatî, and the point where they are supposed to meet in the mouth of the Brahmarandhra is called Trivênî. By daily spiritual contemplation of this union, corresponding to the physical act of bathing at the real Trivênî[2], the Yôgî may win salvation for his ancestors and himself. Sometimes the sacred city of Vârânasî (Benares) is localised in the microcosm by styling Idâ as Vâranâ and Pingalâ as Asi, so that their place of union at the Brahmarandhra is Vârânasî, the residence of Vishvanâtha, the Lord of the Universe.

The microcosmic Moon at the top of the vertebral column, which is said to consist of eight and sometimes sixteen digits[3], is always exuding nectar, which flows downwards. Half of this nectar passes through Idâ, on the left side, and there becomes water for the nourishment of the body. The other half goes through Sushumnâ into the vertebral column, and

[1] Another account asserts that inside Sushumnâ there is a bright stream called Vajrâ, and that inside Vajrâ is another stream called Chitrinî. In the centre of Chitrinî is the Brahmanâdî, a subtile duct representing pure knowledge and bliss. At the lower mouth of Sushumnâ is the Brahmadvâra, Door of Brahma, where are the Knots (*granthi*). Some writers speak of three Knots, the Brahmagranthi in the Anâhata Circle (the heart), the Vishnugranthi in the Vishuddha Circle (the throat), and the Rudragranthi in the Âgyâ (Âjñâ) Circle (the forehead).

[2] Tribênî, Allahabad, where the Ganges and Jamnâ join, according to belief, with the Sarasvatî connecting underground.

[3] A digit in European parlance is the twelfth part of the diameter of the sun or moon.

thence down to the base of the latter, where it meets the microcosmic Sun. This sun, which has twelve digits, casts its rays upwards through Pingalâ along the right side of the body, and thence through the system.

In the abdomen, in the middle of the sphere of the Sun, is the Vaishvânara Fire, which effects the process of digestion in the body.

In the abdomen also is situated the first of the Seven Circles (*chakra*), which are conceived as being of the form of the lotus, attached at intervals to Sushumnâ.

The first Circle is the Mûlâdhâra, or simply Âdhâra, and is imagined to be a lotus of four digits in width, situated two digits above the anus and two digits below the groin (*linga*). In the pericarp (seed-vessel) of this lotus is a triangular space representing the *yôni* or female organ. On this space dwells Kundalinî (or Kula-Kundalinî) who is Shakti (or Chichchhakti), the power of the spirit, the creative force of the phenomenal universe. She is golden of hue, like a streak of lightning. When at rest she sleeps rolled up in three and a half coils, like a serpent, with her tail in her mouth, inside the lower orifice of Sushumnâ. On her left is Idâ, which coils round Sushumnâ and finally enters the right nostril. On her right is Pingalâ, proceeding in the reverse way upwards and debouching into the left nostril[1].

Kundalinî is sometimes termed Vâgdêvî or Goddess of Speech, the Shakti of Vishnu, the Mother of the three Gunas[2] (modes of matter), the Seed of Being (*bîja*). Over her sleeping form broods the Kâmabîja, or Seed of Love, a bright spiritual radiance endowed with the powers of knowledge and action, which circulate through the body. This Kâmabîja is also styled Svayambhulinga, the phallic symbol of the Self-created Being, Shiva. To this is added that around the *yôni* Traipura there blows a red wind called Kandarpa (the same as Kâma, Love) and in the *yôni* is the Svayambhulinga,

[1] Mûlâdhâra is also made to represent the Earth and the seat of Brahmâ, and the *yôni*, called Traipura, the three principles of fire, sun and moon, is also located at the mouth of Vajrâ, the bright stream (*nâdî*) situated inside Sushumnâ. See p. 153, footnote 1.

[2] Sattva (goodness), Rajas (wickedness) and Tamas (ignorance).

having the hue of molten gold and facing downwards. Above this is Kundalinî, who is like a lotus-fibre and lightning, and covers with her face the orifice of the Sushumnâ. In the midst of Kundalinî is Paramakalâ or Paramêshvarî or Mahâprakriti, the super-subtile principle of Bliss, which is like lightning and illuminates the Universe. The *yôni* and *linga* upon it are known as the Kula or Home, the Power of Phenomenal Being.

A little distance above the Mûlâdhâra, in the groin, is the second Circle, the Svâdhishthâna, conceived as a red lotus with six petals. It represents Varuna, and is the seat of Vishnu.

The third Circle is the Manipûra, a golden lotus of ten petals by the navel. It is said to be blue and to represent Agni, and that Rudra dwells on the inverted triangle (*yôni*) at its centre.

The fourth Circle is the Anâhata, a red lotus of twelve petals situate in the heart. In it is a flame styled Bâna-linga. This Circle represents Vâyu or the Wind. In the double triangle within it dwells Îshâna. In the middle of this double triangle is a triangle (*yôni*) known as Trikôna Shakti, within which is the golden Bâna-linga, on the head of which is a lotus of eight petals, the seat of Lakshmî. In this lotus dwells the Prâna, or Breath of Life[1], together with the Vâsanâs or influences of former Works upon the Soul, the Karma or Works thereof, and its Ahankâra or principle of Egoity.

Situated in the throat is the fifth Circle, Vishuddha, a golden lotus of sixteen petals, which is said to represent Âkâsha or Ether and to be the residence of Sadâshiva. It is also given the colour of smoke.

The sixth Circle is Âgyâ (Âjñâ), a lotus of two petals between the eyebrows which contains the mystic force called *akshara-bîja* (the imperishable seed). It is of the colour of the moon. In its pericarp is the seat of Shiva called Itara in the form

[1] Besides Prâna or Outward Breath, the Yôga Philosophy recognises several others, including principally Apâna, breath going downwards in the anus; Samâna in the navel; Udâna in the throat; Vyâna, circulating through the body.

of a *linga*, like a series of lightnings. It is the *paramakulapada*, the highest stage of the Kula, or Home in which Shiva and his consort Shakti are half and half (*ardhângî*) in mutual fashion. In it is envisaged Paramâtman, the Supreme Self, as Creator of the origin, maintenance and dissolution of the cosmos, like a halo of the light of fire, sun and moon. After death the Yôgî, who has fixed his breaths on this seat of Vishnu enters into Param-Brahma or Shiva.

The highest Circle of all is the seventh, Sahasrâra, conceived as a lotus with a thousand petals, situated at the base of the palate. On its pericarp is a reversed triangular space (*yôni*), in the centre of which is the Brahmarandhra or upper extremity of the Sushumnâ. On the *yôni* (or below it) is the Moon, whose nectar flows downwards, through the system. Its place is within the sinus of the forehead. The Sahasrâra is conceived as Mount Kailâsa, the home of Shiva, and as representing the sphere of the Absolute or Transcendental Being, Parama-Shiva or Paramêshvara, as opposed to the sphere of cosmic action or Kula. It is styled Akula or Nakula. It is thus the physical as well as the spiritual antithesis of the Kula at the lower end of the Sushumnâ.

The Sahasrâra is also described as having a thousand red petals facing downwards and containing fifty letters of the Dêvanâgarî alphabet from *a* to *ksha*. It contains the full Moon without the hare (our "man in the moon") and in its central *yôni* the Yôgî should contemplate the Void. In the void of this *yôni* is the sixteenth digit of the Moon called Amâ or Anâ. It is like lightning and is as thin as the hundredth part of a lotus-fibre. It conveys the nectar flowing from Sahasrâra. Inside Amâ is the digit Nirvâna, which is as fine as the thousandth part of a hair, curved like the new moon, bright as twelve suns, the tutelary deity (*adhidaivata*) of living creatures. In the middle of Nirvâna is Apûrvanirvânashakti, which is as thin as the ten-millionth part of a hair and bright as ten million suns, the creator of the threefold world and dispenser of the Knowledge of Brahma, the life of all creatures. Inside this Apûrvanirvâna is the Shivapada

or Seat of Shiva, or Param Brahma. This Shivapada is also called the Hansasthâna or the Swan's Home, the revelation of salvation.

The object of metaphysical contemplation is to merge the individual Soul into the absolute All-Spirit. So the object of the Yôgî is by contemplation to absorb the Kundalinî in the microcosm representing the macrocosmic Energy, into Sahasrâra, typifying the Absolute, whereby the Cosmos is merged into the infinite bliss of Paramêshvara, the Absolute, the Transcendental Being.

In order to effect this, it is held that for the transit of Kundalinî through Sushumnâ and the Brahmarandhra into Sahasrâra, the veins (*nâdîs*, passages), must, by the exercise of breath-regulation (*prânâyâma*) be blocked up with air introduced into them by inspiration (*pûraka*) and retained in them (*kumbhaka*)[1]. The normal circulation of the air through the system, which causes the continuance of the soul's imprisonment in the body, is held to be arrested by this stoppage of the air. Then Kundalinî, when she has been aroused to sufficient energy by mystic exercises, passes up through Sushumnâ, bursting the eighth Knot (*granthi*)[2] that binds the veins, and enters through the Brahmarandhra, the upper end of the Sushumnâ vein, into the Sahasrâra, the realm of the Absolute.

But long training is needed before Kundalinî can be stimulated to this supreme effort. An earlier stage of this training is passed in contemplating the Mûlâdhâra at the lower end of Sushumnâ. The Yôgî, after taking a deep inspiration, fixes his thought upon the lotus of Mûlâdhâra and compresses the *yôni* in it, meditating on Kâma, the Spirit of Love, who dwells in the *yôni*, and conceiving in the flame above it a union as Shiva and Shakti. Then Kundalinî, who is also styled Tripurâ, as comprising the three principles of fire, sun and moon, begins to rise in Sushumnâ, and after drinking the nectar streaming down it, returns to the Kula or Home.

[1] Final expiration of the retained air is called *rêchaka*.
[2] See *ante*, p. 153, n. 1, and *infra*, p. 188.

These methods, with further contemplation of the higher Circles (*chakra*) up to Âgyâ (Âjñâ), stimulate Kundalinî to such a degree that in the last stage the Yôgî is able to bring her up into Sahasrâra. By long practice, his activities of the material organ of Thought (*chitta-vritti*) become absorbed in the Akula, the Absolute, and his stillness (*samâdhi*) becomes perfect stillness. Drinking the lunar nectar of Sahasrâra, he overcomes Death (cosmic, conditional being) and the Kula (the Home, the site of the Power of Phenomenal Being).

Thus in brief can the Yôgî achieve his object, freedom from re-birth, salvation. But for the present purpose a few further details are necessary. He must practise moral discipline in relation to others and himself (*yama* and *niyama*) and spiritual purification to stimulate Kundalinî, the Power of the Spirit, to burst the Svayambhûlinga, the symbol of the Self-created Being endowed with the powers of knowledge and action, and bring with her the sound of the mystic syllable *hum* to the Brahmadvâra, the Door of Brahmâ, where the Knots are, at the entrance of the Sushumnâ in the centre of Mûlâdhâra, the first Circle (*chakra*). Going up the Sushumnâ, she then bursts the *lingas* of the Anâhata (the heart) and the Âgyâ (Âjñâ) (the throat) Circles, and at the Brahmarandhra, the upper end of the Sushumnâ, she unites with Parama-Shiva, shining like a bright thread of lightning. The Yôgî should then bring her together with his Soul (*jîvâtman*) into Sahasrâra, the highest Circle at the base of the palate, and there contemplate her as supreme and as Chaitanya, Spirit. When she has there drunk the red nectar from Shiva, she returns to Mûlâdhâra by the way she came. Then he should make a libation of this nectar to the deities of the cosmos, whereby he obtains immunity from future birth and assurance of absorption into the Infinite.

Writers upon Yôga often dwell upon the phenomenon of Nâda, which in its physical aspect signifies the mystic Sound (*anâhata-dhvani*) heard by the Yôgî in the Sushumnâ in the interior of his body. There are several varieties of this Sound.

The first of them is the sound caused in the ether of the heart when the exercise of breath-regulation (*prânâyâma*) has loosened the Brahma-granthi or Knot of Brahma in the Anâhata Circle (the heart). Sometimes the Sound is identified with the mystic syllable *Ôm*. Probably the idea was suggested by the noise made on closing the ears with the hands. In the *Lallâ-vâkyâni* there are several allusions to Nâda.

Yogic works, in common with the *Tantras*, often refer to a theory of cosmogony of which the leading idea is as follows. The Purusha (Absolute Spirit, Para Shiva, Brahma) and the Prakriti, identified with the Supreme Shakti, are eternally co-existent. Like Purusha, Prakriti is to be conceived as both unqualified and qualified. Purusha reveals Himself in all finite beings through Her universal presence as the principle of cosmic Bliss. Essentially they are two in one and one in two. Creation begins when from Him as affected by Her, *i.e.*, as *nishkala* (inactive), there issues the primal Bindu (drop)[1].

The same idea is expressed more fully thus. Prakriti by contact with Purusha becomes spiritualised (*chinmâtrâ*) and in an effort towards creation, She becomes solidified and changes into the primal Bindu. In the latter Shiva and Shakti exist together in an as yet undissolved union, shrouded in the bonds of Mâyâ (Illusion), bearing the potentialities of cosmic creation, continuance and dissolution. It is imagined as existing in the form of a grain of pulse in the Sahasrâra of the microcosm, where it composes the Void (Brahmapada) there. This primal Bindu, under the influence of Time according to some, divides itself into three: (1) a gross or seminal Bindu, the germ of the material Universe; (2) a subtile Bindu, which contains the Gunas, modes of matter, Sattva (goodness), Rajas (wickedness) and Tamas (ignorance), and is termed Nâda; and (3) a supreme Bindu. Nâda literally means Sound, and denotes or is denoted by the semicircle under the *bindu* or dot over the written syllable *Ôm*.

[1] Also the dot representing the final nasal sound at the end of the written mystic syllable *Ôm*.

From the Bindu as it thus divides itself arises an inarticulate Sound styled Shabda-Brahman, Speech-Brahman, from which emerge, according to some, the three cosmic Powers of Knowledge, Will and Action. Others derive from it the genesis of the material principle of the finite Universe, Mahat or Buddhi, and its evolutes.

The theories of cosmic evolution that are connected with all this are extremely complicated and obscure, but it is as well to call attention to a similar theory of the Shaiva Siddhânta. One School teaches that from Pure Mâyâ emanates Nâda (Vâk, speech), the elemental Sound or Logos, and from Nâda the Bindu or cosmic Germ, from which are successively evolved the principles of the finite Universe.

In this theory Shiva includes the Trinity consisting of Pati, Pashu and Pâsha, the Lord, the Herd and the Bond, *i.e.*, the Supreme Being, Souls bound in the fetters of finitude, and the three Forces binding them, which are Mâyâ (Illusion), Ânava (Obscuration of Soul) or Avidyâ (Ignorance), the power of Darkness obscuring the native light of the Soul, and Karma, the mechanical influence of former Works upon present experience. Pure Mâyâ is almost the same conception as that of Shakti.

So far as to Nâda and Bindu in their general macrocosmical aspects; but they also play a prominent rôle in the microcosm of the individual. Kundalinî or Shakti, residing in the Mûlâdhâra Circle, ordinarily sleeps rolled up in coils like a serpent. This serpentlike Kundalinî surrounds the microcosmic Supreme, who is in the shape of a minute Dot of Light. The first stage towards enlightenment occurs when a man obtains glimpses of the Dot of Light. By this the Dot is set in motion and rouses the Kundalinî or Shakti from her sleep. She wakes with a great Sound (Nâda) and becomes conscious. The Soul is thus illuminated by the supreme light of consciousness. The Shakti, being merely the immanent aspect of the Supreme, is identical with Him.

It is this flash of light, or *bindu*, and this sound of Shakti,

or Nâda, that are mystically represented by the *nâda-bindu* of the written syllable *ôm*, on which are placed a dot within a semicircle for nasalisation, *anunâsika*, of which the dot represents the *bindu* and the semicircle the *nâda*. By a further extension of the metaphor, this *nâda-bindu* is thus considered to be a representation of the Ultimate Supreme.

Inasmuch as the divine Shakti reveals herself in Sound (Word or Logos), the elements of speech, namely the syllables and their combinations, have a profound mystic significance in Shaiva doctrine. Hence there has arisen a copious literature on the mysteries of the letters of the alphabet and their groupings in spells (*mantras*).

It has been suggested that the Circles (*chakras*) and other terms of Yogic anatomy correspond more or less to real parts of the human body, and the following identifications have been proposed:

Chitrâ, the grey matter of the spinal cord.
Brahmarandhra, the central canal of the spinal cord (but modern Hindus identify it with the anterior fontanelle).
Mûlâdhâra, the sacred plexus.
Manipûra, the epigastric plexus.
Anâhata, the cardiac plexus.
Vishuddha, the laryngeal or pharyngeal plexus.
Âgyâ (Âjñâ), the cavernous plexus.
Sahasrâra, the medulla oblongata.
Sushumnâ, the spinal cord.
Idâ, the left sympathetic cord.
Pingalâ, the right sympathetic cord.

It is not to be assumed that Lal Ded was thoroughly acquainted with the whole Yôga theory or that she necessarily thoroughly understood it, but that she had studied under learned exponents of the Trika Philosophy and was well acquainted with the general teaching and phraseology they employed is quite evident from the *Lallâ-vâkyâni*. Such an exposition as has been given of Shaivism and Yôga is necessary for a comprehension of her Word.

PART III

LALLÂ'S RELIGION

TEACHING

TEACHING

LALLÂ's Teaching or "Word,"—*Wâkh* or *Vâkyâni*, *i.e.* Words, is her own term,—shows her to have been a strong Hindu sectarian. It shows her as a Shaiva of the Kâshmîrî variety, well acquainted with the terms of the Philosophy of the Shaivas and with the Yôga doctrine of the same division of the Hindus. It shows also that she followed, not the Dvaita doctrine, the Dualist teaching which is based on the separation of Nature from the Supreme, but the Advaita, the Monist, the non-Dualist teaching which is based on the unity of the Supreme with all things, including human beings. The Advaita doctrine had been introduced into Kashmîr some centuries before her time. She teaches, as often and as clearly as she can, the absolute dependence of mankind on the Supreme, and roundly states that those who cannot recognise the fact of the unity of the Supreme with all observable things are "ignorant fools." Her idea of the Supreme,—of God in fact,—is a very lofty one. He is everywhere without exception everything that a man can need. She constantly teaches the insignificance of the whole universe in comparison with Him and the ineffectiveness of human effort without Him. And in true Hindu fashion she insists on the identity of the human Self with the Supreme Self, even in the most trivial action.

Lallâ is further a *yôginî*, a professed female ascetic, who wanders about spreading the Yogic doctrines wherever she goes. To her that is the only kind of life worth following, the only teaching worth anything, and the only useful aim worth inculcating in others. She is obsessed by it, and practically the whole of her Word is aimed at proclaiming and enforcing it on the attention of mankind. Her teaching has continuous references to the Yôga doctrine, its technicalities and terms, expressed in poetry full of fire, spirit and fervour, with a great wealth of picturesque imagery that makes it hard for a European Christian to follow without instruction, as it is so wholly Hindu and Indian.

On the basis of the Shaiva, Yôga and Advaita learning, she teaches but one main idea with an infinite variety of illustration. Her object for herself and her hearers is to escape Re-birth, the bugbear of all thinking Hindus, by securing union with the Supreme after death at the end of the present life. This object, she endlessly repeats, can only be attained by contemplation of the Yôga doctrines combined with the proper performance of the Yogic religious exercises, the whole aim of which is to make sure of eventual absorption into the Supreme,—or, as Christians would put it, to make sure of salvation.

The meditation must be on the Supreme and the means of reaching Him. The main exercise is Breath-control, by which is meant stopping the breath while intensely meditating. The main thing to avoid is desire of any kind for any thing in Nature. Release from Re-birth cannot be achieved until freedom from desire has been acquired by Yogic exercises. The aspirant to Release must be dead to Desire while still alive in this world, as all worldly Desire is an evil working against Release. But desire for union with the Supreme is all that is good, and the exciting cause for this desire must be ardent love for attaining it through the self-discipline imposed by the Yogic exercises.

But Lallâ is no bigot; she constantly preaches wide and even eclectic doctrines: witness the following and many other instances. It matters nothing by what name the Supreme is called, He is still the Supreme; Be all things to all men, taught in terms that have sunk into the people; The true saint is the servant of all mankind through his humility and loving-kindness; It matters nothing what a man is or what his work of gaining his livelihood may be, so long as he seeks the Supreme properly. Some of her Sayings will come home to the Christian hearer, as for example the following: The Day of Resurrection will come on a day and at an hour when men are not looking for it; Trust in God for all things, and He will provide; Be resigned to the troubles of this world, and be ready when the Lord of Death calls. This last sentiment is couched in verse that has no echo of Christianity in its terms and references.

Lallâ fills her teaching with many things that are common to all religious philosophy. There are in it many touches of Vaishnavism, the great rival of Shaivism, much that is strongly reminiscent of the doctrines and methods of the Muhammadan Sûfîs, who were in India and Kashmîr well before her day, and teaching that might be Christian with Biblical analogies, though the Indians' knowledge of Christianity, if any, must have been very remote and indirect at her date.

Lallâ is no believer in good works in this or in former lives, in pilgrimages or austerities, in ritual or ascetic practices, or in any works done for profit, spiritual or secular, or in formal worship. It is not ritual, she declares, but the intention behind it that will bring Release. All action, *i.e.*, works, she says, is defilement and the enemy of absorption into the Supreme. All labour, to be effective, must be undertaken without thought of profit and dedicated to Him. She puts no value on anything done without the saving belief in Yogic doctrine and practice, one of the results of which is the destruction of the fruits of all works, good or bad.

It is not works but esoteric knowledge that will bring Release. Even religiously disreputable works, and practice violating ordinarily decent customs, she holds to be unobjectionable, provided the performer believes correctly. On this ground she upheld her own habit of nudeness, for which she was evidently much taken to task in her lifetime. She says it was adopted because she has recognised that the external world is all illusion and has restricted all her thought to her inner Self and its union with the Supreme Self. She is a strong critic of idolatry as a useless and even silly "work," and adjures the worshippers of stocks and stones to turn to Yogic doctrine and exercises for salvation.

In all she says, Lallâ shows herself to be a real woman,—a real human being. She often alludes with resentment to criticisms of her habits, nudeness and dancing,—religious dancing being in compliment to Shiva's "sport" of dancing, as typifying the course of the cosmos over which he rules. She on her part hits at the ordinary wandering *yôgî*, and what she describes as his conjuring tricks. She is a firm believer in herself: says she has become famous and talks of "the wine of her Sayings" as something obviously precious, and alludes often to her own mode of life, fully believing that she has obtained Release. She has all the faith of her race and its complete reverence for the Guru or Spiritual Teacher, though she wins in an argument with him. She follows the national love for riddles and such oracular sayings; also for puns and double meanings, and similar literary tricks of her people, which incidentally make her verse at times very difficult to represent in English. She observes the injustice of the world, and expresses the cry of the helpless to the Supreme,—even the cry of spiritual despair. As a firm believer in the transmigration of souls, she claims to have recollections of events in former lives, some of which are not quite correct historically. And lastly, she represents that Release is most difficult to attain: few succeed, she says, and success involves a hard Yogic life; and no doubt it is a hard life, if carried on according to the accepted doctrine. Unquestionably she presents herself as a woman that has really lived.

I

Lallâ commences by relating her own spiritual experience. She had wandered far and wide in search of the truth, had made pilgrimages to holy places and sought for salvation through formal rites, but all in vain. Then suddenly she found it in her own "home," in her own soul. There she found her own Self, which became to her the equivalent of a spiritual preceptor and she learned that it and the Supreme Self (Shiva) were one.

This was possible to her as a *yôginî* capable of suppressing her breath by gently compressing the air-passages, so that the feeble light of the lamp of the knowledge she had acquired could blaze up into the darkness of her body without being blown out. Thus the light, which had at first burnt dimly in the inmost recess of her soul, suffused her whole being and could be conveyed to others.

[The numerals opposite the verses refer to the order in which the sayings appear in Grierson and Barnett's *Lallâ-vâkyâni*.]

3\. Passionate, with longing in mine eyes,
   Searching wide, and seeking nights and days,
Lo! I beheld the Truthful One, the Wise,
   Here in mine own House to fill my gaze.

That was the day of my lucky star.
   Breathless, I held him my Guide to be.
4\. So my Lamp of Knowledge blazed afar,
   Fanned by slow breath from the throat of me.

Then, my bright Soul to my Self revealed,
   Winnowed I abroad my inner Light;
And with darkness all around me sealed
   Did I garner Truth and hold him tight.

II

In her method of teaching her doctrine by means of verse, Lallâ becomes at once mystical and transcendental, and being a professed *yôginî*, her mysticism and transcendentalism is filled with the terms of the Yôga System and with references thereto.

She teaches that the Supreme is not reached by the Yôga discipline alone,—by the bodily exercises and the contemplation enjoined by it. Vows of silence and mystic attitudes and the like do not lead directly to Him. The utmost they can do is to lead the mind to that knowledge of the Supreme, which brings it into union with Him.

But by repeated practice of the Yôga discipline, that which is the wide expanse of creation, the universe, is recognised, in the consciousness of the devotee,—the *yôgî* and *yôginî* who has attained enlightenment—as being really an illusive emanation from the Supreme. The recognition causes, to the consciousness of the devotee, its re-absorption in Him.

The wide expanse of empty space is the principle of ethereality or vacuity, and just as water falling with a splash into water is utterly united with that into which it falls, so the perception of the visible world, is, as it were, lost in becoming one with the Void. This Void is not the ultimate Supreme, but is the first stage in His apparent evolution, in which He associates Himself with Mâyâ, Cosmic Illusion, and it thereby becomes subjected to limited individual experience.

Lallâ constantly harps on the transcendental Void, using the expression "a void became merged in the Void." This Void is the imaginary body in which one feels oneself in dreams, a vague, indistinct and undefined something which is practically Nothing, not unlike the "nothing" of the experience of the really dreamless deep-sleep state of life. The Void may therefore be looked upon as the first stage in limited consciousness; and in the reverse order of the soul becoming united with the Supreme, it is the last stage of limited consciousness before the soul becomes conscious of universal experience as one with the Supreme.

Hence Lallâ teaches that when the soul, transcending the stage of the Void, loses all consciousness of limited individuality and becomes absorbed in the Supreme as the unlimited pure consciousness and nothing else, only the Weal, the sense of well-being, remains. This is the goal of the devotee and the aim of the Yogic exercises. By the Void—the thing which is really nothing, mere emptiness—is meant the apparent material existence—the material world, or the consciousness of the material world. With the acquirement of true knowledge, the unreality is recognised, and the apparent reality disappears in the transcendental Void.

When the Weal is reached nothing remains but the consciousness of well-being: not even Shiva nor his Energy (Shakti), for these have form and name, while the Somewhat, the ineffable Supreme, has neither.

2. When the Body-exercise is done
   And the last effort of Thought employed,
   Then nor the End nor the Bourne is won.
   Brâhman, this is Doctrine unalloyed.

1. When by Discipline repeated oft
   All the Wide is lifted to the Void,
   Universe and Ether merge aloft.
   Brâhman, this is Doctrine unalloyed.

   When the Void within itself is solved
   And Ethereality destroyed,
   Only is Well-being unresolved.
   Brâhman, this is Doctrine unalloyed.

2. Where is the Weal, there no thought of mind,
   Action nor inaction may intrude;
   Vows of silence entry fail to find,
   Nor avails the mystic attitude.

   There nor even Shiva reigns supreme,
   Nor his wedded Energy hath sway.
   Only is the Somewhat, like a dream,
   There pursuing an elusive way.

III

Lallâ is a strong sectarian, favouring the Advaita doctrine—like the Kâshmîrî Shaivas of her own and subsequent time—and forcibly opposes the Dvaita doctrine—Non-duality versus Duality. To the Dualist, the Dvaitî, the Supreme (God) and Nature are distinct: to the Non-dualist, the Monist Advaitî, the Supreme and Nature are one, the individual Self is one with the Universal Self—the Day of Joy is one with the Night of Sorrow.

The true believer, from the Advaita point of view, who "sees the Supreme," is one who recognises that He is all in all and that all creation and all experiences are but modes of Him.

The great aim of the devotee is to gain Release from the eternal round of Re-birth, which is otherwise the fate of all beings. The Parama Shiva, the Supreme Self, the Supreme, has two aspects,—the Shiva Tattva and the Shakti Tattva. The former is pure Spirit, the pure light of Intelligence without anything to shine upon. The latter is perfect Bliss, the supremest Self-satisfaction, absolute Rest. The ideas of pure Spirit and Bliss therefore comprise the whole idea of the Supreme Deity. So Lallâ teaches that the way

to escape from Re-birth is to gain a perfect knowledge of Him, recognising that He is the Absolute Self of all things.

Those who do not acquire this knowledge are "ignorant fools" who are born and re-born again.

5. Who hath seen the Lord of all the lords?
 He that from Duality is free:
He that knows how Day with Night accords,
 Seeing one Self in all selves that be.

6. Who is freed from Danger of Re-birth?
 He that hath the knowledge and the Light
Drawn from Self-intelligence to earth,
 Won from Self-bliss in the Self's despite.

Who is the fool that doth court Re-birth?
 He that on his ignorance is set,
Adding to his knowledge gained on earth
 Knot unto knot in that tangled net.

IV

Lallâ is passionately devoted to the doctrine of the oneness of the individual Self with the Supreme Self. She declares that in her ignorance she has not known the true relation of herself to others: she has clung to the conception of her personal identity and been ignorant of the real nature of her Self as only one manifestation of the Supreme. She has worn her body out by attempting to gain Release—the salvation of the Hindus—by good works, not recognising that these lead only to further transmigration and are all in vain. The only hope of salvation is the recognition of the identity of her Self with the Supreme. To wonder who I am or who He is—to doubt the identity—is indeed the fatal Doubt of doubts, leading to Re-birth—failure to obtain salvation.

Lallâ cares nothing by what name the Supreme may be worshipped. He is still the Supreme and He alone can give Release—whether He be called on as Shiva, or Kêshava (Vishnu), or the Lotus-Lord (Brahmâ), or Jin, which last is ostensibly Jina, the Saviour, Conqueror, of the Jains or of the Buddhists (Buddha). It may well be however a reference to the Jinn (Genius), the Spirit of the Muhammadans, through Lallâ's relations with the Sûfis of her day.

7. Lord, myself not always have I known;
 Nay, nor any other self than mine.
Care for this vile body have I shown,
 Mortified by me to make me Thine.

Lord, that I am Thou I did not know,
 Nor that Thou art I, that One be Twain.
"Who am I?" is Doubt of doubts, and so
 "Who art Thou?" shall lead to birth again.

8. Shiv or Kêshav, Lotus-Lord or Jin:
 These be Names. Yet takest Thou from me
All the ill that is my World within;
 He be Thou, or he, or he, or he.

V

Lallâ again and again repeats, and sometimes in mystical verse not easy to explain briefly, that it is not works but esoteric knowledge which will bring the soul Release or salvation.

She addresses "the Lady" (Rainyâ, queen), by whom she apparently means Kundalinî—the Shakti—the Power of the Spirit, the creative force of the phenomenal universe, resident in her own and every other human being's body—as a diligent worshipper of Shiva with all the necessary rites of the Left-hand Sect of the Shâktas: the sect that consumes wine and flesh, and performs less reputable acts as a part of worship, which are not consonant with the regular Hindu custom. She points out that the violation of Hindu custom by the performance of such ceremonies is unobjectionable, or indeed praiseworthy, provided the performer "knows the mystic syllable that is itself the Supreme Place."

This takes us deeply into the Yôga mysteries. The mystic syllable is "*ôm*," which, as the unobstructed sound vibrating in perpetuity, is the Supreme Himself, residing in the Supreme Place, the sinus in the forehead of man's subtile body, in the form of a minute Dot of Light surrounded by His Parâ Shakti or Supreme Energy, identical with Himself. When the *yôgî* by intense abstract meditation on the Ego gets his first glimpse of the Dot, the dormant Parâ Shakti is roused and awakes with a loud cry, illuminating the soul by a flash of the supreme light of consciousness. There is thus established a unity between the Supreme and Sound, and as the Supreme Energy reveals herself in sound, the elements of Speech have been given a profound mystic significance in Shaiva doctrine.

Lallâ next addresses herself to some woman who had remonstrated with her for not following the usual customs in regard to female dress. It is said that she made a practice of going about as a nude ascetic, and she herself says that "naked I began to dance."

She tells the woman that just as a fatted ram is prepared for sacrifice and death by feeding it on grain and cakes, so the factors constituting the principles of experience of the sensible universe must be prepared for disappearance by meditation on and realisation of the nature of the Self. In order to attain to true knowledge the seeker after salvation must certify to himself the eventual nothingness of the factors or principles which constitute the materiality of the sensible universe. The fatted rams represent these factors; and just as a ram, fattened on fruits and the like, has but the smallest beginning in his mother's womb, and grows to great size and vigour before he is ready for sacrifice, so the principles of materiality are developed from earlier subtile capacities, and under the influence of the chain of cause and effect which results in illusion, become powerful and conceal from the soul its knowledge of its real Self.

Lallâ points out that if knowledge of the Place of the Supreme is attained, violation of Hindu custom matters not at all.

Then she explains how she came to dance naked in the fashion of the devotee. Her Guru, or spiritual preceptor, whose duty it is to confide to his disciple the mysteries of religion, had taught her to recognise the external world as naught but an illusion, and to restrict her thoughts to a meditation on her inner Self. When she had grasped the identity of her Self with the Supreme Self, she learnt to appreciate all externals at their true value. So she abandoned even her dress and took to going about naked.

The wandering of Lallâ in a nude condition is the subject of more than one story in Kashmîr. Filled with supreme rapture she behaved like a mad woman. The dance of the naked devotee is supposed to be a copy of the dance of Shiva, typifying the course of the cosmos under His rule. It implies that the devotee has wholly surrendered the world and become united with Shiva.

10. Lady, rise and offer to the Name,
    Bearing in thy hand the flesh and wine.
Such shall never bring thee loss and shame,
    Be it of no custom that is thine.

This they know for Knowledge that have found—
    Be the loud Cry from His Place but heard—
Unity betwixt the Lord and Sound,
    Just as Sound hath unison with Word.

77. Feed thy fatted rams, thou worldly one,
    Take them grain and dainties, and then slay.
Give thy thoughts that reek with "said and done"
    Last-fruits of Knowledge, and cast away.

Then shalt see with Spirit-eyes the Place
    Where the dwelling of the Lord shall be:
Then shall pass thy terrors of disgrace:
    Then shall Custom lose her hold on thee.

94. "Think not on the things that are without:
    Fix upon thy inner Self thy Thought:
So shalt thou be freed from let or doubt":—
    Precepts these that my Preceptor taught.

Dance then, Lallâ, clothed but by the air:
    Sing then, Lallâ, clad but in the sky.
Air and sky: what garment is more fair?
    "Cloth," saith Custom—Doth that sanctify?

VI

"The void that merges into the Void" has a great fascination for Lallâ, and she constantly harps on it in some of her most mystical verses filled with allusions to the terms employed in the Yôga doctrine. In that doctrine the Moon and the Sun represent respectively the uppermost and lowest seats of action or circles in the subtile human body—the mental and fleshly capacities. When, by intense mental absorption the *yôgî* causes these to disappear or cease to be present to consciousness, he is conscious of the existence of nothing except his thinking faculty or abstract mind. When this is finally absorbed in the Supreme, all sense of difference between the individual Spirit and the Universal Being is sunk in the all-consuming consciousness of All-Being, All-Light.

The whole object of the *yôgî* by his bodily practice is to become absorbed into Parama Shiva, the Supreme, and so escape Re-birth. This he endeavours to secure by blocking up the breath in the air-tubes as he conceives them, while intensely meditating on the Sahasrâra Circle situated in mystic parlance in the sinus of the forehead, where is the Moon and also the abode of Parama Shiva, the Supreme. By this meditation he tries to enter into the highest mental absorption, in which the organ of thought is absorbed microcosmically into the Sahasrâra and macrocosmically into Parama Shiva. Thus does he obtain final Release—what Christians would call salvation.

Lallâ refers to these ideas over and over again. She states in effect, "when the Sun disappeared, then came the Moonlight; when the Moon disappeared, only Thought remained: when Thought disappeared, Nothing was left anywhere." By "disappeared" she meant "ceased to be present in consciousness." That is to say that the *yôgî* raises his consciousness from the world of the flesh to the sphere of absolute being. Here the sense of difference between his individual spirit and the Universal Being is sunk in the all-consuming consciousness of All-Being, All-Light.

This consideration leads Lallâ to one of her favourite ideas, "the merging of the void into the Void." When the holy books have disappeared by Yogic contemplation, there remains the Sound, the mystic formula; when that disappears, there remains the organ of Thought; when that too disappears, there remains Nothing, a void: then does the void disappear into the great Void. In the Shaiva philosophy, as has been already said, the transcendental Void, the emptiness, is the imaginary body in which one feels oneself in dreams, a vague, indistinct, and undefined something which is practically "Nothing."

Lallâ's teaching thus amounts to this. The void is the apparent material world, which is really empty nothingness, and when final Release is attained, its apparent existence disappears in the Great Transcendental Void, consciousness of mere existence in bliss.

To the Shaiva the chief of the six enemies which impedes union with the Supreme is Desire, sexual desire. The others are Wrath, Desire in the general sense, Arrogance, Delusion of mind and Jealousy. Some substitute Joy and Pride for Delusion and Jealousy. So Lallâ teaches that through the staunching of Desire by meditating on the nature of the Self of Naught, and by abandoning vain imaginings and knowledge, the void can be merged into the Void.

Then Lallâ explains how she herself reached the Goal where the void merged into the Void, in most mystical verse full of references to Yogic practice and belief. By the rein of No-desire,—the absence of all desire, brought on by meditation,—she held in control the steed of her thought. By ardent practice she brought under her subjection all the vital airs circulating in the passages in her body. The heat of Life rises from the region of the Sun of Fire, which is resident in the lowest circle of the subtile body, the Mûlâdhâra at the base of the abdomen, and in the highest circle, the Sahasrâra in the sinus of the forehead, resides the cooling nectar of the Moon of Thought. By her meditation Lallâ passed the mystic nectar from the region of the Moon into her spiritual frame and thus became mistress of her Self, overcoming the

sensuous airs from the neighbourhood of the Sun of her material Life: she had completely blocked the circulation of her vital airs rising from about her Sun, and her Moon had consequently distilled its nectar. Thus did her empty void of matter become merged into the great Void.

9. Sets the Sun of this low flesh in Mind:
 Sets the Moon of lofty mind in Thought:
So shall Thought pass gently to the Wind,
 And the Wind and Universe to Naught.

11. Let go thy Books and the Sound retain:
 Let go Sound—thy Mind still undestroyed:
Let go thy Mind, and be Naught thy gain—
 Just a void, that melts, and lo! the Void.

30. Stanch thy desires, but seek not thou afar
 Rarities of healing for the flow.
That which stays all effluents that are
 Waits in thine own House for thee to know.

Stanch thy vain imaginings of thought:
 Let thy costly learning be destroyed:
Meditating on the Self of Naught,
 Find the void that sinks, and lo! the Void.

69. Lallâ guides with reins of No-desire
 Steeds of thought to lead her where she wills:
So on breaths from near her Sun of Fire
 Fall cool drops her Moon of Self distils.

Take then vantage of thy Moon and Thought,
 While the breaths that hinder thee be cloyed;
So thou reach the very goal of Naught,
 Past the void that lifts, and lo! the Void.

VII

Lallâ hammers home the importance of securing freedom from Desire. Neither the gain nor the abandonment of power gives true respite from care. Only freedom from Desire brings content. A man does not grasp the true knowledge till he understands that, even while yet alive, he should be as one dead,—free from all Desire.

She enforces this contention by an allusion to an old Hindu idea that while a child is in its mother's womb it remembers all

its former births and resolves on its coming to life to act so as to acquire Release from further transmigration. But directly it is born, recollection of these previous existences disappears and it loses all memory of its resolution. She reproaches the unbeliever with this act of forgetfulness, and advises him, while yet alive, to become as one dead by destroying the Six Enemies,—lust, wrath, desire, arrogance, delusion and jealousy,—and thus acquire complete indifference to worldly temptation. The resultant honour is, of course, absorption into the Supreme Self. This she contrasts with the objects of the worldly ambition practised by the public.

Lallâ compares a man's mind to his ass, and advises him to keep it under control or it will wander forth into strange heresies and will suffer in consequence. This she teaches by an allegory well within the understanding of Kâshmîrîs. The saffron-gardens are the most valuable cultivated land in Kashmîr. An ass loose in one might do incalculable damage and would accordingly have to undergo suffering, which would in the end fall upon its owner.

These ideas are in consonance with Hindu teaching and are to be found in the *Bhagavad Gîtâ*.

Lallâ still further enforces her point by verses addressed to Shiva, the god of the dark blue throat, which he acquired at the time of the churning of the ocean, when the gods extracted immortality-giving nectar from it. The first thing to come up in the churning was the deadly Kâlakûta poison, which was swallowed by Shiva to prevent it from doing further harm. The poison dyed his neck dark blue.

In these lines Lallâ alludes to "the Six," of which Hindu philosophy has numerous groups. The Supreme Deity has six attributes, —omniscience, contentment, knowledge of the past from eternity, absolute self-sufficiency, irreducible potency and omnipotence. Lallâ exclaims that, though she knew it not, she, as really one with Him, also had these six. But in her ignorance, while the Supreme was ever master of "these Six," she was misled by another six. This other six is capable of various interpretations. They may be the Six Enemies, or the six human infirmities, or the six periods of human life, or the six changes in life.

The Six Attributes of the Deity are the result of the absence of Desire, and the Six Attributes of unregenerate manhood of the presence of Desire, and man dwells in consequence in misery.

12. Keep thy kingdom and thy wealth, and live
 Bowed down with cares and great desire blent;
Kingdom and wealth to another give,
 And surfeit thy heart with discontent.

Only whose soul is from desire free
 Hath not care for any thing that is;
Learning Death in Life true Life to be,
 Knowledge that is Truth alone is his.

87. When wert dwelling in thy mother's womb,
 Thine was the vow to be born no more:
Since hast lost the wonder of that tomb,
 What remembrance of thy days of yore?

If from Re-birth thou wouldst now be free,
 Die to Desire, though be Death in store,
So that honour great be won by thee:—
 Unity with Him for evermore.

88. Set not thine ass from thy guidance free,
 Costly saffron-gardens to devour,
Lest he bring on him all ills that be,
 And on thee fell retribution's hour.

Let not thy mind wander from the fount
 Knowledge gives to nourish it withal.
What hast thou but that poor ass to mount?
 'Tis on thy back that the blows will fall.

13. Shiva of the dark blue throat, like thee,
 Six be attributes to know me by:
Only this discord twixt Thee and me—
 Thou art Lord of thine; not so am I.

Mine the six that All-desire rules;
 Thine the six that ruleth No-desire:
This I knew not, being of the fools
 Burnt in the flames of undying fire.

VIII

In highly technical verses, in which Lallâ endeavours to convey esoteric doctrines to the public and thus to make them exoteric, she attempts to describe the Supreme, whom she calls Shiva and connects with Vishnu and Brahmâ. Her Shiva, however, is not a personal deity, but the first phase of the Supreme in the Universe, the Shiva Tattva, which the *yôgî* understands to be but a manifesta-

tion of a deeper Reality of the Absolute Spirit. He is the ever-unobstructed Sound,—the mystic syllable *ôm*,—which, once uttered, vibrates in perpetuity. His essence is ethereality, the sky, and His home is in the void, conceived to exist in the Sahasrâra Circle in the sinus of the forehead of the subtile body. Nothing whatever can be predicated concerning Him. He is successively transformed into the Sound and the Dot of Light by its own reflection on itself. The Supreme resides in the subtile body in the form of a minute Dot of Light, surrounded by coils of His Parâ Shakti, the Supreme Energy. When by intense abstract meditation on the Ego, the *yôgî* gets his first glimpse of the Dot, the latter is set in motion and the Parâ Shakti is roused and awakes with a loud cry.

The sacred syllable *ôm* has been described as the "spoken utterance which continues vibrating at the point of utterance, the sound that mostly has the semblance of inarticulateness." There is no one who causes it to be uttered and no one who checks it. The God dwelling in the human breast utters it Himself. This syllable is called "unobstructed" because its nature is imperishable.

Lallâ describes Shiva as but the horse upon which the Supreme rides and Vishnu (Kêshav) and Brahmâ, the other members of the Hindu Triad or Trinity, as the servants of the horse. Being a Shaiva, she would exalt Shiva above the others.

14. Who shall be the rider, if for steed
  Shiv the Self-intelligence shall be?
 What though Kêshav shall attend his need,
  Helped by Brahmâ of the Mystic Three.

 If the Self-intelligence be I,
  I the Self-intelligence must be,
 Needing Twain in One to mount him by,
  What rider but the Supreme is he?

 This is the Knowledge that Lallâ knows,
  When her glimpses of her Self begin,
 Telling her of Sound that ever grows
  Round the Dot of Light she sees within.

15. Name, nor lineage, nor form, nor hue
  Hath the Ever-unobstructed Sound,
 Who of Himself is the Empty Blue,—
  Whose home but in the Void is found;

 Who of own reflection is the Light
  And of own supremacy the Fount;
 Who with the Void-absolute is dight,
  That is the Self who the steed shall mount.

IX

Lallâ illustrates her teaching of the essential unity of all things with the Supreme by the analogy of ice, snow and water, which she explains are three different things, but on reflection we see that they are not different; when the sun shines, the three will become one. So does the sun of true knowledge make the soul recognise not only its identity with the Supreme, but also that the whole universe is one.

There is in her verse a reference to an obscure and complicated theory of cosmogony in the Yogic doctrine which it will not repay to go into here.

Lallâ, like most Hindu philosophic teachers, is a strong critic of idolatry, and she advises the Brâhman doctors to offer, in lieu of worshipping stocks and stones, the Yogic spiritual offerings of the vital breaths,—to practise bringing the vital airs under control in the Yogic fashion.

16. Ice and snow and water: these be three
  That to thy vision separate seem:
 But they are one to the eyes that see
  By light of the Consciousness Supreme.
 What the cold doth part, the sun combines:
  What the sun doth part, doth Shiv make whole:
 What Shiv doth part, the Supreme confines
  In one Shiv and Universe and Soul.

17. What are thine idols but lumps of stone?
  What but stone the temples that are thine?
 Venerable Brâhman, why alone
  Offerings to these to make Divine?
 Hold the breaths that in thy body rise,
  Meditating on the One alone;
 So thou be of understanding wise
  And thou know Him to be not of stone.

X

For all her mysticism, her fanatical devotion to her religion and calling, and her desire to implant them in the public open to

her, Lallâ was just a human being. Her peculiar habits of ascetic life and her nudeness drew down on her much criticism, and she answers it in her verses, referring to it many times.

She compares herself to a mirror on which some ashes have fallen—not, as she explains, to soil the mirror, but to serve to polish it. So long as she is innately devoted to Shankar, *i.e.*, to Shiva the Real and the True, no amount of abuse can affect her.

She flies out at her critics in vigorous irony and proclaims herself as callous to the blame and praise of the world. It is best to be as a non-sentient block to the knowledge, sight and wisdom of this life.

All earthly repute is vanity itself, and by reference to a well-known Hindu legend she enforces the wisdom of keeping a calm mind, clear of words that wound as fire, but after all weigh in the scales of Truth as nothing. According to the legend, there is imprisoned at the bottom of the peaceful ocean a terribly destructive fire. If it were to burst forth, the whole world would be destroyed. Similarly, if the fire of wrath bursts forth from the ocean of the mind, it leaves deadly scars, and yet, to the wise man, it is nothing.

She vigorously enforces the wisdom of "being all things to all men": a doctrine that may be called universal. It has long been very much alive in India and is brought home in a widely known verse of Lallâ's successor Kabîr, worth repeating here:

Sab-sê hiliyê; sab-sê miliyê;
Sab-kâ lîjiyê nâm;
"*hân-jî, hân jî,*" *sab-sê kahiyê:*
basiyê apnê gâm.

Everyone meeting, everyone greeting;
Give everyone his name:
"Yes, sir; yes, sir," say to everyone:
But bide in your ain hame!

18. Shall a little ash my mirror soil?
Shall a little word my heart distress?
Shall a little goad-prick service spoil?
What if Shankar His devoted bless?

21. Bind thy hatred round me: shout my shame:
Say what things of me thy heart shall find:
Worship me with flowers: praise nor blame
Touch the undefiled of thought and mind.

20. Hast thou knowledge, be thou as a fool:
Hast thy sight clearly, be as one blind:
Hast thou thy hearing, let deafness rule:
And in all things be without a mind.

24. Bubble that upon the wind shall ride,
Wind thy hand shall gather by the root,
Hair-string that an elephant shall guide,
Water in a basket,—is thy Repute.

23. Keep thy mind calm as the Peaceful Sea,
Slaking and quenching the Fires of Wrath,
Lest from thy bondage thou set them free
And the words of rage, as flames, break forth:

Words that shall sear, as with fire, thy mind,
Burnt in anger to be healed in ruth.
What are they? Nothing. Nothing but wind,
When thou hast weighed them in scales of Truth.

20. When one asks aught of thee, answer "yes";
When one speaks, to hearken do thou feign;
When one exhorts, his acumen bless;
And the depths and heights of knowledge gain.

XI

Lallâ returns to her teaching. She declaims against the perpetual Re-birth of the unregenerated—the eternal round of Nothing. "What is anything? It is nothing, nothing, nothing." To which may be compared: "Vanity of vanity, saith the Preacher, all is vanity."

And then in verse so full of references to Hindu legend and the Shaiva and Yôga philosophies that it cannot be translated, but can only be given to non-Hindus in explanatory lines, she shows how this weary round can be avoided.

Her actual language is terse enough: "The day will be extinguished and night will come; The surface of the earth will become extended to the sky; On the day of the new moon, the moon swallowed up the demon of eclipse. The illumination of the Self in the organ of thought is the true worship of Shiva." No attempt has been made here to "translate" these cryptic sayings into English verse, but only an effort is made to give their traditional esoteric sense in an extended form.

What Lallâ is thought to have meant is this. Once the mind realises the true nature of the Self as the Supreme Self, to which Lallâ gives the name of Shiva, all things fade into nothingness. There is no distinction between day and night, and the beginnings of the apparently solid earth merge into those of the sky, so that the earth and sky become one.

By this process the very demon of eclipse, Râhu or Râh, is eclipsed himself: a cryptic remark which is explainable thus. According to Hindu tradition, the moon contains sixteen digits, each containing a certain amount of nectar. Each day the gods drink the nectar in one digit, so that on the sixteenth day only one digit remains. This accounts for the waning of the moon. The nectar of the sixteenth day is what remains over on the day of the new moon. On the occasion of a solar eclipse the moon and the sun are together, and the nectar of the sixteenth digit, becoming heated and caused to evaporate by the proximity of the sun, ascends into that luminary. Râhu, the demon of eclipse, then swallows the sun in order to drink the nectar.

Lallâ uses this legend explaining natural phenomena to describe the process of absorption into the Sahasrâra, the highest circle in the sinus of the forehead of the subtile human body. By long practice of the activities of his material organ of thought, the *yôgî* becomes absorbed in the Absolute, when all his sense of individuality is extinguished in perfect stillness of thought. Drinking the lunar nectar in the Sahasrâra, he overcomes Death and the Power of Phenomenal Being.

Mystical as all this is, there is yet further mystery in Lallâ's verse. Normally in Hindu philosophy there is a distinction between the subject, object and instrument of cognition. In the verse the subject is typified by Râhu, the demon of the lunar eclipse, the object by the Moon, and the instrument by the Sun. The thinker (*yôgî*) is able to "swallow the moon," by which is meant that he is able to think away the phenomenal world into a blank. But he cannot dissolve it, for there still exists the triad of the object, subject and instrument of cognition, until the Parâ Samvid, the Higher Consciousness, is attained, by which all three are fixed together and sublimated into a void of infinite Unity.

Lallâ refers to the presence of the Higher Consciousness. Whereas in ordinary meditation "Râhu swallows the Moon," which is to say, the thinker effaces the phenomenal world, the Higher Consciousness, typified by the Moon residing in the Sahasrâra, absorbs the consciousness of the thinker into itself, entirely sublimating its contents into the Void. The Moon has swallowed Râhu.

It is these considerations that are rendered in the English metrical version of Lallâ's Saying rather than the Saying itself.

19. They come and come, and they have to go
Night and day for ever on and on,
Going back to whence they came, and so
Wander they the universe upon.

Weary, ceaseless, never-ending round—
Birth on birth, and birth on birth, in pain—
Till doth every self on self rebound—
Naught on naught, and naught on naught again.

22. Think within thee, till the light of day
Be as the darkness of very night—
Till the self-illuminated Way
Show thee the Darkness to be but Light.

Then shall the bounds of the solid Earth
Mingle with the liquid of the Sky:
Then shalt thou gain freedom from Re-birth,
Merging into Shiv the Self on high.

When the nectar of the waning Moon
Riseth to feed the awaiting Sun,
What is it aught but an empty boon?
Booty that the maw of Râh hath won.

Yet shall Self-illuminated Thought
Show another picture, late or soon:—
Ignorance blind—as a demon caught;
Râh himself as booty of the Moon.

There be that to know and to be known.
There be knowledge, too, to know them by.
By the Light in thee shall both be shown,
Thinking and thinking, if thou but try.

Râh it was came booty for the Moon;
Now shall the Moon be booty of thine.
Think on, and both shall a void be soon:
Only shall remain the Thought Divine.

Think on yet, and Consciousness shall come
Higher than the consciousness destroyed:
Then shalt thou behold of all the sum:—
'Tis the void that passeth to the Void.

XII

Lallâ continues her mystical teaching. She addresses her steed of thought, saying that she will guide it by her Yogic art to self-realisation, which is obtained by mastering the vital airs, *prâna* and *apâna*. These are the principal airs of the body, the outward and the inward. There are five "airs" described in general Hindu philosophy: the upward flowing air which has its seat in the lungs and is exhaled through the mouth and nose; the downward flowing air which is expelled from the anus; that which rises in the throat and enters the head; that which has its seat in the cavity of the navel and is essential to digestion; and that which is diffused through the whole body. These course through the body, and the object of the Shaiva ascetic is to restrain them by "holding his breath"; but the main object is to bring the first two, the *prâna* and *apâna*, under complete control.

Lallâ then explains how she secures Release by absorption into the Supreme. In the spiritual body of man there are the six circles impelling him to experience the objective universe and to look upon it as real. These must be mastered before true enlightenment is reached, and Lallâ compares the process to that of cutting a way through forests. A mystical Moon, the abode of the Supreme Shiva, exists under the frontal sinus, and once he has mastered the six circles, the *yôgî* becomes cognisant of this Moon and is absorbed into the Supreme, whom Lallâ here calls Shankar.

She states that she has effected the mastery by controlling and suppressing the vital airs, and that the exciting cause is ardent love or desire for Shiva.

26. Steed of my thought, speed thou through the sky,
Urged by the mystery of my art;
Pass thou in the twinkling of an eye
Through the empyrean of my heart.

Yet by the rein of my breath-control,
Breathless I'll guide thee by ways I know;
So shall my chariot of Knowledge roll
Down the paths of my own Self that go.

25. While I drive through forests that are mine
Bursts forth Light from my awakened Moon.
Holding all breaths, carnal and divine,
Gain I then the guerdon of His boon.

Parched my heart by fires of this my Love,
Knowledge shall be mine of how and why:
Then shall there dwell in the Void above
Twain in One, Shankar the Self and I.

XIII

Becoming didactic, Lallâ teaches that it is well to observe the ordinary precautions of clothing and food for the body, whilst recognising it to be worth nothing, and filling the mind with discernment of the Self and the Supreme. But she teaches also that they only who have kept their minds free from eating and apparel shall ascend to the Supreme.

She compares Desire to a money-lender who gives a loan of fruition of hopes, but demands a hard repayment of principal and interest; and she declares that no bondslave of Desire shall escape from Yama, the judge of the soul after Death. Happy indeed, she says, is the contented soul to whom Desire refuses to make a loan.

And then she teaches that ordinary asceticism, and even ardent yearning, are common enough, but that without the knowledge of the true nature of the Self, they are of no avail for ultimate Release.

28. Keep a little raiment for the cold
And a little food for stomach's sake:
Pickings for the crows thy body hold,
But thy mind a house of Knowledge make.

27. Thou shalt have no peace in brave attire,
Nor shall dainties satisfaction give;
Neither shalt escape from Yama's ire,
If thou a bondslave of Desire live.

Only is he blessed and at peace,
False hopes abandoned, who ascends
Where the hard loans of Desire cease,
Where no debt, nor any one that lends.

29. Not by virtue of thy attitudes,
 Not by thy most ardent wish for peace,
Not by Self-command where Self intrudes,
 Shalt thou gain the portals of Release.

Even though thy body melt in Thought
 Like as salt doth melt into the Sea,
Yet if Mind be not in Nature taught
 Knowledge of thy Self there may not be.

XIV

Viewing the world from the point of view of the *yôgî*, Lallâ praises the life of inactive contemplation. All action is defilement and hinders the soul from obtaining Release. But in impassioned verse she declares that the real freedom from action is that of the soul. The body may be a slave to duty and yet the soul may be free.

32. Sleep in Illusion while art yet awake;
 Wake to Illusion and slumber still:
Cleanse thee in every Pool, and take
 All Uncleanness to thy soul at will.

31. Fill days and nights with the cares of life,
 Yet thy Freedom in Inaction find—
Action raiseth by the Airs of strife
 Clouds upon the mirror of thy Mind.

When hast learnt Wisdom, the clouds shall clear:
 Then dost gain thee honour for the Call:
Called, thou seest that the Self is near.
 What art then? Nothing. And He is all.

XV

Lallâ sets up a fine spirited plea for spiritual as against formal worship, teaching that ritual will not bring the seeker to absorption into the Supreme Shiva, here called Shankar, but that the pure desire and mind behind the ceremonies will succeed. The verses conveying this idea are, however, mystical.

Firstly she alludes to the "Nectar of the Moon," and by that expression refers to the Moon in the highest Circle of the subtile body, the Sahasrâra in the frontal sinus. The Moon is here equivalent to the Supreme Shiva. And then, taking the ordinary

ceremonial worship by gifts of flowers to, and pouring water over, the material image of Shiva as her model, she teaches that the flowers should be devotion to Him, while over His image should be poured, not material water, but the mystic lunar nectar —the juice of the Moon abiding in the Sahasrâra.

The mystical allusion in all this is that the *yôgî*, who by meditation is becoming absorbed in the Sahasrâra, drinks this nectar and thereby becomes master over himself and the sphere of cosmic action. Thus does Lallâ advise him to devote himself to perfect stillness of thought and lose all sense of individuality, and so secure absorption into the Supreme, through absorption into the Sahasrâra. There is also a reference to the "mystic formula," the Spell of Silence. By this Lallâ means that the *yôgî* utters no sound, but simply performs various exhalations and inhalations. This is the mysterious "Way of the Swan," to which she refers by name later on. What she says here is that "by the mystic formula of silence will the Shiva-Self become manifest," in allusion to the common application of the term "Way of the Swan" to the Supreme Shiva, dwelling in the Sahasrâra and identified with the individual soul. Contemplation on this leads the *yôgî* also to absorption into the Supreme Shiva through absorption into the Sahasrâra.

Lallâ then bursts forth into impassioned praise of the mystic syllable *Ôm* in highly esoteric verse. She calls it the *anâhata-rav*, equivalent of the Sanskrit *anâhata-dhvani*, the Unobstructed Sound, and describes it as identical with, or as equivalent to, the Supreme Himself. This requires some explanation.

Ôm is the Unobstructed Sound, whose progress is perpetual, everlasting. Esoterically it has the semblance of inarticulateness, can be uttered only by the deity dwelling within the subtile breasts of living creatures, and has no human utterer or obstructor of its sound. It is perpetual because it never comes to a close but vibrates perpetually. It is self-created because it is caused without any percussion. It takes its rise in the abdomen and issues through the nose of the subtile body. It is the mystical sacred Sound, the Holy Word, the Logos. To Lallâ it typified the Supreme Shiva; to Hindu writers generally it is the inexpressibly Sacred Thing possessing qualifications of holiness in an infinite variety.

Lallâ couches her verses to *Ôm* in terms filled with references to the Yôga doctrine. She describes it as possessing all the virtues of the other mystic syllables or spells, and the *yôgî* as one who can by his art make it and only it to rise from the Cavern, the mysterious subtile bulb behind and below the navel into which the veins and arteries debouch. The Cavern is the focal centre of all bodily thought and action, and from it radiate the various tubes through

which circulate the vital airs. To the true *yôgî* this is the abode
of *Ôm*. It is fixed there and he causes it to rise perpetually up-
wards through the heart by the "Jar" exercise, which consists
of meditation accompanied by bottling up or retaining the breath
after inspiration. By this suppression of breath the *yôgî* blocks
up the vital airs circulating through the tubes radiating from the
Cavern, and thereby causes the organ of Thought to become
absorbed into Shiva, represented by the mystical Moon existing
in the Sahasrâra or brain. He thus attains to perfect stillness of
Thought and by extinguishing all sense of individuality he secures
absorption into the Supreme. It is an extremely recondite theory,
but it has to be stated in order to explain what Lallâ means by
references to the Cavern and the Yôgî's art.

Lallâ's bare statement is that the Jar exercise "forms a bridge
to the Brahmarandhra," the Place. As a technical term, this is
regarded as a spot or cavity in the anterior fontanelle of the brain
under the frontal sinus (see pp. 153 and 161). It is thus situated close
to the Sahasrâra and is connected with it. The Brahmarandhra is
the upper end of the Sushumnâ, the principal air-tube of the
subtile body, through which *Ôm* can be made to ascend to the
Sahasrâra. This last is the abode of the Supreme Shiva, who is
recognised as one with the Supreme Self within himself. Then
cries Lallâ: "Of what benefit to him are a thousand spells? To
whom else, therefore, should he offer worship?"

39. Who are they that wreaths of flowers bring?
  What are the flowers that at the Feet they lay?
Water that they on the Image fling?
  What the spell that Shankar's Self shall sway?

40. Pure Desire and Mind the flowers bring:
  Flowers of Devoted Faith they lay:
Nectar of the Moon on Him they fling:
  Silence the Spell that shall Shankar sway.

34. Stirred by the power of thy Yôgî's art
  From the dark Cavern wherein it lies,
Onwards through the life-beats of thy heart
  Naught but Ôm, the spell of spells, may rise.

Borne thence by thy art unto the Place
  Ôm shall grow to Unobstructed Sound.
What is thy need then to seek for grace,
  When in thy Self the Spell of spells is found?

33. He that knows the Place to be a shrine—
  Unto himself and the Self a home—
Hears the Unobstructed Sound divine,
  Growing ever to the vibrant Ôm.

When thy vain imaginings are fled,
  Why put thy faith in spells that come and go?
Why to worship others be thou led,
  When thine own Self for the Self dost know?

XVI

Again Lallâ becomes didactic. She knows that by means of
intense concentration of mind the *yôgî* claims to be able to achieve
magical powers and to perform apparently impossible actions.
But she points out that these are but the art of a conjurer, whereas
the true *yôgî* disdains miraculous powers and devotes himself to
union with the Supreme Self by acquiring knowledge of his own
Self.

This leads to the praise of perfect contentment, using an expres-
sion found elsewhere in Hindu sacred literature that the death
of another is not any one's business—it is good to die and it is
good to live long. She preaches the uselessness of seeking the
Supreme by means of long pilgrimages, using the metaphor of
a pile of grass to indicate worldly pursuits. The further a man's
thoughts wander from the consideration of the identity of the
Supreme and the Self, the more tempting will worldly pursuits
appear to be.

And then she teaches that Breath-discipline or restraint of the
vital airs is necessary for the attainment of union with the Supreme,
and that he who carries out the Yôga exercises to that end, on
re-birth into this world, is fortunate, for he will be able in it to
effect the union. Here again she uses expressions found elsewhere
in Hindu sacred writings.

38. Why cool the flames, Yôgî? Stay the stream?
  Why dost walk feet upwards in the sky?
Why milk a bullock? Why magic dream?
  Why these base feats of the juggler try?

35. Born once again in this world to be,
  Light alone can satisfaction give.
What is it that death take thee or me,
  Happy to die and content to live?

36. Holy one, roaming from place to place,
  Seeking for union with the Lord,
Is he not ever before thy face?
  What then dost gain by research abroad?

Study the Mystery of thy Soul,
  Have faith the Self in the Self to see:
Further thou art from that which is whole,
  Greener the grasses of this World be.

37. He that keeps breath-discipline aright,
  Touched by nor hunger nor thirst of Earth,
Unto the end shall he hold the Light:—
  Fortunate he in this World of Birth.

XVII

Lallâ sets up another very fine plea for spiritual as against formal worship, and preaches that as the whole creation is but an emanation from the Supreme, any offering made by man can only be an offering of Himself to Himself.

And then she states that she knows not whence she came or whither she will go. Life is but an empty breath. "Reason thus with life, a breath thou art." The one thing that is worth grasping is the teaching of the identity of the Self with the Supreme Self.

Finally she urges that the true saint is the servant of all, by his humility and lovingkindness.

42. Thou art the Heavens, and Thou the Earth:
  Thou alone art day and night and air:
Thou Thyself art all things that have birth,
  Even the offerings of flowers fair.

Thou art, too, the sacrificial meal:
  Thou the water that is poured on Thee:
Thou art unction of the things that heal.
  Dost then need an offering from me?

How came I hither? And by what road?
  Whither shall I go? And by what way?
There art Thou and I in one abode:
  Here an empty breath I pass my day.

43. Slay first the thieves—desire, lust and pride;
  Learn thou then to be the slave of all.
Robbers only for a while abide;
  Ever liveth the devoted Call.

All a man's gain here is nothing worth,
  Save when his service shall be his sword;
Ash from the fire is the sun of birth:
  Gain thou then the Knowledge of the Lord.

XVIII

Lallâ continues to be didactic and teaches that action—works, Desire—is the great enemy of absorption into the Supreme and causes perpetual Re-birth. By recognising the identity of the Self with the Supreme (here called Shambhu, a name of Shiva), as taught by the spiritual teacher, a man becomes free from the bond of action.

Then she teaches that freedom from Desire and a knowledge of the nature of the Self give ultimate Release, whether a man lead the life of a householder or bury himself in a hermitage. The mode of life is immaterial; with this knowledge, his own soul becomes assimilated to his conception of the nature of the Supreme, and he becomes spiritually one with Him.

She teaches that while the ascetic is wandering to holy places and tormenting his body in his search for the Supreme, he knows not that all the time He is the ascetic's Self, and hence ever close at hand. When the ascetic performs the most trivial action, it is really not he who does it, but the Supreme, identical with his Self: "The Kingdom of Heaven is within you."

45. If thou hast it in thine heart to heed
  All that thy Preceptor teacheth thee,
Thou shalt not water for thy worship need,
  Wreaths, nor grass, nor seed of sesame.

Then shall Shambhu thy meditation gain
  Through the loving longing of thine heart,
So in joyance high shalt thou remain
  Ever with Him in thy lover's part.

Thine the soul that shall be action-free;
  Thine no fear of living to Re-birth;
One with the Supreme that art to be,
  Freed from tribulations of this Earth.

64. He the all-pervading One, the Lord,
He that is taintless, is one with thee:—
If thou wilt learn this of thine own accord,
Then as thou hast learnt, so thou shalt be.

Choose a home-life; choose a hermitage;
Choose to pass thine years as pleaseth thee;
If Desire doth not thy heart engage,
Then as thou hast learnt, so thou shalt be.

46. If art filled with laughter, or dost yawn,
If thou hast no choice twixt cough and sneeze,
Even if thy breath in sighs be drawn,
He is nigh thee in such acts as these.

If thou art heeding the ascetic's rules,
So thou livest naked through the year,
Ever bathing in the holy pools,
Heed Him. In such actions He is near.

XIX

Indian religious verse is given to using puns, or rather to playing upon the double sense of many expressions. Lallâ indulges in this pastime, and notably on this among other occasions where her verse has a double meaning throughout. Sûfî influence may, however, be traceable here, as the Sûfîs wrote habitually with a double sense in their verse—one plain and one esoteric—and it is known that Lallâ was acquainted with at least one Sûfî saint.

In this verse by one reading she explains how, in the days of her ignorance, she imagined that she could distinguish between her Self and the Supreme Self. That is to say, she started as a follower of the Dvaita doctrine. Then she tells us how, when she had discovered the identity of her Self with the Supreme Self, that is, had become an Advaita, she was filled with rapture of union. Moreover, as the Supreme Self was identical with her Self, He also was filled with the same rapture.

By the other reading she sarcastically compares earthly possessions and desires to the clay with which an ascetic daubs his body. He who cares for these things has all the joys of possession, ignorant of the truth that they are worthless as the clay.

An attempt is here made to give both senses of the verse in an English dress. The double sense of Lallâ's verse turns upon reading the expression *mê tsê*, me (and) thee, as *mêtsê*, earth, clay.

44. Hidden from mine eyes didst Thou remain,
Since in Thy Self wert Thou absorbed:
Sight of Thy body I could not gain,
Since with clay my body I bedaubed.

All day long I sought for Thee in me,
Till I knew that Thou and I were one:
All day long I sought the clay to see,
Till the clay lay drying in the sun.

When I knew that Thou and I were one,
Thine and mine was rapture unrestrained:
When I saw the clay dry in the sun,
Then was the clay by my body gained.

XX

Lallâ is teaching the real insignificance of the universe and the ineffectiveness of human effort, and takes far flights into the Land of Poetry.

As compared with the Universal Self, the universe is of no account, yet foolish mortals look upon it as something wonderful and enjoy it. Life, too, is but a momentary breath, as compared with eternity; and in reality an unsaved soul, in whatever form it may be born, has no time to live, but from the point of view of Eternity lives but for an instant, and dies and dies, and is born and re-born, again and again.

In her unregenerate days Lallâ had striven to find the Supreme Author of all things. Then by His Grace she was permitted to see that the door of approach to Him was barred to all human effort, and that no strivings of hers were of avail. So she stood there, outside the door, full of naught but longing love, and He revealed Himself to her, for she found Him in her Self.

When she had given up the effort, and, having cleansed her mind from earthly passions, waited in patience with humility; then, and not till then, did she gain the true wisdom. and her reputation as a prophetess became widely spread.

47. Lallâ knows a lakelet very small:
In it may not hide a mustard seed,
Yet so mighty doth it seem withal
That its waters fill a whole world's need.

Where a seed of mustard may not hide,
There a great rhinoceros may drink:
Where may Leviathan's self abide,
There one spawn shall fill up to the brink.

Day and night do elephant and deer
Fall into this lakelet of the Earth,
There to meet, like younglings of the year,
Death that follows on the heels of birth.

48. Lallâ probed the riddle of the Earth:
Toiled she, heedless of her body's strength,
Spurred on to labours that were nothing worth,
So on the Author she gaze at length.

Striving and struggling, for the door was tight,
Bolted and barred, till she longed the more
Him to behold that was beyond her sight,
Yet she could naught but gaze at the door.

Yet as she stood gazing at the door,
Contemplating Him with all her Soul,
Lo! He opened it for evermore:
There, within herself she saw Him whole.

49. Lallâ burnt the foulness from her soul;
Famed abroad a prophetess was she;
Freed from Desire and her heart made whole,
Knelt she, just there, on her bended knee.

XXI

Lallâ follows up her teaching. She emphasises the eternal pre-existence of the soul and its perpetual birth and re-birth unless released by true Knowledge. This she does by mentioning experiences that she says she recollects over enormous periods of time long ago. She reverts to this method of teaching more than once.

She commences by saying that, as a result of her having achieved the perfect Knowledge, she has not only gained a great reputation, but she has become endued with the power of remembering the occurrences of her former lives.

In common Hindu belief, at the intervals of a *kalpa*, or day of Brahmâ, or 432 million years, the universe suffers a partial dissolution. A hundred years of Brahmâ, each year being made

up of these *kalpas* (or days of Brahmâ), constitute a Mahâkalpa. At the end of this vast period of time there is "a great dissolution," in which not only is our universe destroyed, but all the worlds of the gods with their inhabitants, and even Brahmâ himself.

Lallâ again compares the universe to a lakelet which overflows, meaning thereby a partial dissolution of the universe. Three of these she says she remembers experiencing. When there is "a great dissolution," the only place that exists is the firmament resounding with the vibrant *ôm*. Lallâ says she remembers seeing one of these.

Between the peak of Haramukh to the North and the mountain lake of Kaunsar to the South lies the Valley of Kashmîr. There is a common legend, referred to in the *Râjataranginî*, the great native History of Kashmîr, that at the beginning of the present *kalpa* this Valley was a lake called Satîsaras; and across this lake from Haramukh to Kaunsar, Lallâ says she remembers a bridge.

Seven times altogether she says she remembers seeing the world becoming absorbed into the Void—the void that passed into the Void.

Lallâ reverts to these memories of former births to enforce another doctrine. The human soul, subject to illusive and worldly desires, is ever changing in its outward appearance from birth to birth, although it is always the same: just as the moon is always the same moon, though perpetually waxing and waning.

The universe, though the same throughout, in Hindu belief undergoes dissolution into a waste of waters and is afterwards reformed again. Lallâ again says that she remembers seeing this in former births. But at length she scoured illusion from her mind and became a new creature, for now she knows her Self.

Lallâ addresses an impassioned poem to her discovery of the knowledge of the identity of her Self with the Supreme Self, when she again refers to "the lake." She describes her mind as intoxicated and maddened by worldly illusion, and how after the night of ignorance it was drawn to the Love of God by the "moonlight" of the dawn. Then she cried to her "Beloved" and awakened him, the "Beloved" being her own Self, which she had roused to the knowledge of its identity with the Supreme Self. She thus lost all the defilement of her mind in a lake of crystal-clear water.

In the allegory of her awakening the Beloved there appears an echo of Sûfîism, which had a hold on India before Lallâ's time.

The word used for "lake" is *dah*, which also means "ten," and so the original verse may be read to mean "my mind lost the defilement of the 'ten'," *i.e.*, the five organs of physical sense and the five organs of action, which are the chief impediments to the acceptance of the Great Truth.

50. Holy meditation brought to her,
Through the Knowledge Lallâ came to know,
Light of Perfect Wisdom, that could stir
Memories of the life of long ago.

Thrice the lakelet overflowed its bounds:
Once the lakelet with the Earth resolved
Into the Firmament, that resounds
With the vibrant Ôm in Space dissolved.

Once from Haramukh there stretched a bridge
Unto Kaunsar, when the waters filled
Valleys of Kashmîr from ridge to ridge,
And the voice which liveth now was stilled.

Lallâ remembers all these, and yet
They be trifles that remembrance cloyed:
Seven times memory broke the net:
Came a void that passed, and lo! the Void.

93. New and new—the story of the Soul—
Changed and ever changed from birth to birth:
So doth every moon that groweth whole
Grow new again in each month of Earth.

New and new—the universe dissolved—
Came a waste of waters on the Earth:
From the waste of waters new resolved,
Sprang forth the World to another Birth.

Scoured of the body and cleared of mind,
Ever new and new hath Lallâ grown:
Sight is now hers that before was blind;
Knowledge is hers that had nothing known.

105. When the moonlight ended with the dawn,
Mind of her Self with illusion mad
Lallâ to the love of God had drawn,
Soothing the pain that had made him sad:

Cried to her Beloved: "It is I,
Lallâ, Lallâ, that awakens Thee:
Buried in the crystal lake doth lie
All the defilement that darkened me."

"Self of my Self, for Thou art but I,
Self of my Self, for I am but Thou,
Twain of us in One shall never die.
What do they matter—the why and how?"

XXII

Lallâ continues the teaching, enforcing by memories of former lives the doctrine of the impermanence of everything material. This she does in some of her best known sayings.

She commences by yet another reference to having seen the infinite waste of waters at a general dissolution of the universe. Then she relates what she saw of the heroes of the *Mahâbhârata* story of very long ago. But she tells the story in the Kâshmîri style and not in that of India proper, in which it occurred.

She says in her verse: "for a moment I saw the mother of the Pândavas; for a moment I saw an aunt of a potter's wife." The story runs thus. The Pândavas, the famous heroes of the *Mahâbhârata*, were kings, and their mother Kuntî was a queen. Yet through treachery they were all at one time reduced to the direst misery and wandered hungry and thirsty till they came to the city of King Drupada. Here with their mother the Pândavas, disguised as mendicant Brâhmans, found refuge in the hut of a potter, and supported themselves by begging. Lallâ says that the potter's wife or her children called Kuntî their aunt.

This is not the *Mahâbhârata* story, for it would make out that the Pândavas and their mother posed as potters, not as Brâhmans. It is a curious fact that, in more than one instance, the stories of the great Indian epics, as told in Kashmîr, differ widely from the Sanskrit text current in India proper.

96. Just for a moment a river flows
Pr. 47. With a rush of waters to the sea:
Just for a moment an ocean shows
Wastes of waters that all-bridgeless be.

Just for a moment a flower grows,
Bright and brilliant on a green-clad tree:
Just for a moment a cold wind blows
Through the bare thorns of a thicket free.

Just for a moment a woman knows
Nothing of Self or the Self to be:
Just for a moment her Knowledge throws
Back to her the Past in memory.

97. Just for a moment a hearth ablaze:
Pr. 47. Just for a moment nor smoke nor fire:
Just for a moment a woman's gaze
Lights on the Mother of her desire.

Just for a moment the Pândav's home—
Humbled to the house of a potter's wife:—
King's sons forced by treachery to roam
Just for a moment in war and strife.

Just for a moment a woman sees
Pândavs posing as a potter's brood;
Royal Mother as an Aunt to these—
Just for a moment—to children rude.

XXIII

Lallâ in several verses harps upon the doctrine that "hardly, in sooth, is the Supreme to be found," and urges her hearers to meditate on this fact. She adduces metaphor after metaphor to drive it home. As the attainment of the Supreme Shiva is hard for a mortal once he is born, she entreats him to heed her doctrines and thus obtain Release.

Again she teaches that the soul, while still in the womb of its mother, remembers its former births, and determines to seek Release from future transmigrations as soon as it is born: but that directly it is born it forgets all this, and being entangled in worldly desires, is condemned to visit wombs again and again, and to wait at their doors for admission again into the world.

Then Lallâ produces parables to enforce the doctrine that all things existing are but forms of the Supreme, and yet how difficult it is to secure union with Him. A pedestal, a pavement, a mill-stone, a garth, all differ widely in appearance, but at bottom they are all the same—only stone.

She then brings out facts in Nature, which are also to be found in the Bible (Matt. v. 45) with a different application, to show the universality of the Supreme. He is everywhere without exception, just as the sun shines impartially on every spot in the earth, and just as Varuna, the God of Water, is found in every house and not only in the houses of the good.

Another parable brings home the same doctrine. It treats of the infinite variety of woman, as a mother, as a wife, as a Delilah. Yet she is, throughout all, the same, a woman. A Sanskrit com-

ment here makes the Delilah to be the Shakti, the Female Energy which misleads people from the truth, appearing at one time as a mother, and at another as a wife, but always a misleader.

Finally Lallâ goes to Yôga doctrine and practice to hammer home her teaching—the difficulty of attaining unity with the Supreme and obtaining Release from Re-birth. She says that had she but known how to secure Breath-control she would have saved herself from being born again many times. The term she actually uses is, had she known "how to cut, how to bind up," which in Kâshmîrî implies operative surgery. Her meaning is that this must be performed upon the mind, which must be cut away from the organs of action and bound up by self-restraint and quietism. Thus is found the Great Elixir, the magic potion of Life, the Knowledge of the Self, which brings Release.

51. Comely the souls that are filled with life,
They that are born from a mother's womb.
Time and again through desire and strife
Wait they at the door of that dark tomb.

Many a pang and many a pain
Bringeth to mothers a soul unkind.
Ponder the doctrine I preach again:—
Thou but by sorrow shalt Shiva find.

52. Be it pedestal, or be it hearth,
Be it a beautiful carven mill,
Be it a lintel, be it a garth,
'Tis but a rock from the self-same hill.

Whatso its form or its use may be,
'Tis but a stone of the self-same kind.
Ponder the doctrine I preach to thee:—
Thou not easily shalt Shiva find.

53. Light of the sun shines on every place;
Heat of the sun glows in each good land:
Waters of Warun do each land grace;
Every home hath a boon from his hand.

List to my parable, so thou see
Out of eyes that are no longer blind.
Ponder the doctrine I preach to thee:—
Thou but by sorrow shalt Shiva find.

54. She is a wife in whom men believe;
    She is mother to her children true;
She is mistress that shall men deceive;
    One to delight in and one to rue:

Yet is she Woman, a help in pain,
    One for the joy and the grief of mind.
Ponder the doctrine I preach again:—
    Thou not easily shalt Shiva find.

80. If I had but known the art I learnt,
    After long toil, for my Breath-control,
Never had the fires of sorrow burnt
    Into the depths of my oft-born soul.

Had I but known how to cut and bind,
    How to sever and again make whole
Action and inaction in my mind,
    I had found Elixir for my soul.

Then had I caused but one mother pain:
    Then to Knowledge had the Self been kind.
Ponder the doctrine I preach again:—
    Thou but by sorrow shalt Shiva find.

XXIV

Lallâ, in verse full of Yôga doctrine and reference, teaches the advantage of following the practice of Breath-control with meditation to obtain Release. Some, she says, have in the hope of Release abandoned house and home for a hermit's life. Others in a like hope have given up such a life and have become ordinary householders. But it matters nothing where or how one lives so long as one applies oneself to learning the mysteries of Self. The devotee should practise restraining his breath—one of the chief means of securing emancipation. "*Cælum non animum mutant qui trans mare currunt:* They change the sky, not the mind, who cross the sea."

Then she addresses her Guru or spiritual teacher, whom she has been taught, like all devotees, to recognise as the representative of the Supreme Lord, Paramêshvara. She asks him for the inner meaning of why the two kinds of breathing which both take their rise in the "City of the Bulb," are opposites in character, why the one she calls *hah* is cool and why the other she calls *hâh* is hot.

Expiration, and inhalation also, are carefully watched and controlled by the *yôgî*. Lallâ has noticed that some of the expirations are cool and others hot, and she asks her Teacher for the reason. His reply requires explanation. It teaches the whole theory of Breath-control.

According to Shaiva teaching, situated within the subtile body below the navel is the Bulb, the focus of all bodily action. From this radiate the various tubes or passages through which circulate the vital airs. It is the City of the Bulb situated near the navel in the subtile body. One of the vital airs—the air of hot life—rises directly from the Bulb through the windpipe and is expired through the mouth. The air of physical life, *hâh*, is therefore hot.

In the anterior fontanelle in the upper part of the head of the subtile body is the *Brahmarandhra* which is near to and connected with the *Sahasrâra*, the spot which is the upper extremity of the chief passage called the Sushumnâ, the lower extremity of which is in the Bulb. The Sahasrâra is considered to be the abode of that emanation of the Supreme Shiva which is man's Self and which is mystically spoken of as the Moon. The moon is universally looked upon as the source of coldness, and hence the vital air passing down the Sushumnâ is cold. When this meets the hot air of physical life coming upwards from the Bulb, close to which is the Sun of the subtile body and the source of heat, the hot air is deprived of its heat by contact with the down-flowing stream, and hence some of the expired air, *hah*, is cold.

The *hah* is a short abrupt expiration and the *hâh* is a prolonged one, and at the bottom of the explanation lies the idea that in the short expiration the hot upward current of air suddenly meets the downward current of cold air, and is checked by it. Hence it is cold. On the other hand, a prolonged expiration has time to recover itself and regain its heat. The sun is located in the pelvis, and so the upward breath is hot: the moon is at the brain, and its currents are downward and cold.

55. Some that have hoped have abandoned home,
    Finding their peace in the forest glade;
Others that have hoped have ceased to roam
    And in the home-life their peace have made.

What of it? Whether beneath the sky,
    Or beneath a palace roof is home:
Stay where thou art; for the Self is nigh,
    Pleaseth it to labour or to roam.

56. Teacher, tell me—Thou that art Supreme—
Give me of the Knowledge that is Thine;
Show me the inner meaning of my Dream—
Riddle of these veins and breaths of mine.

Upward breathings from my veins be twain;
Both from the Place of the Bulb arise:
Give me the answer I seek in vain:—
Why is one hot and one cold, Most Wise?

57. Know that the Place of the Bulb is fire;
There thy Sun hath ever his abode:
So shall keep hot the Veins of Desire
Breaths that rise upwards along that road.

Know that the Place of the Self is ice;
There thy Moon hath ever his abode:
So shall keep cold the Veins of Device
Breaths that flow downwards along that road.

Heat from thy Sun, that meeteth the cold
Sent by thy Self from the Moon of Mind,
Shall be cooled in breaths that thou canst hold,
When thou hast learnt to govern the Wind.

So when the body is lord of mind,
Breaths shall be hot that shall outwards rise;
When the body shall conqueror find,
Breaths shall be cool from him that is wise.

XXV

Lallâ lays great stress on a fundamental doctrine of the popular Hindu Scripture, the *Bhagavad Gîtâ*: the efficacy of performing duty for duty's sake. If a man engages in worldly affairs for the lusts of the flesh, he damns his soul; if he takes them up without regard to their fruits, solely from the sense of duty and devotion to the Supreme—the love of God—he saves his soul.

She commences by pointing out the variety of human wishes. The ordinary worldling performs actions for the sake of what he may gain by them, but these gains cannot follow him to another world. They are left behind to his "laughing heirs." The true believer, however, does his duty without thought of reward, and offers all that he does to the Supreme. It is he, therefore, who

after death reaps the full fruit of his actions in the hope of fina Release.

Lallâ teaches, too, as an Advaita or Monist devotee, that if without thought of gain or of any reward, the devout believer performs his necessary religious and secular duties, and also makes his mind non-dualist (*advaita*), he will find that to him "the Lord of the chiefest of the Gods" is ever gracious. The non-dualist mind is that which fully recognises the identity of the Self with the Supreme Self—that all is one, not two, nor manifold.

She alludes to this in mystic fashion, for the devout must call on the name of Shiva as the Supreme and bear in mind the "Way of the Swan." This is a mystic name for the celebrated formula, "*Sô 'ham*, I am He." In Sanskrit letters, if the words *Sô 'ham* be reversed, they become *Hamsah*, a word meaning "swan." Hence the origin of the term. *Hamsa* is often applied to the Supreme Shiva dwelling in the *Sahasrâra* and identical with the individual soul, and also to indicate the mystic formula *Ôm*, identified with the Supreme Shiva.

Lallâ then teaches that to labour is to pray—*laborare est orare*—but the labour must be dedicated to the Supreme. When all that one does and all that one says is dedicated to Him, this is equal to all burnt offerings and sacrifices and leads to union with Shiva the Supreme.

And then in highly mystical verse she avers that no human efforts can gain the perfect knowledge, which is obtained only by quietism and the Grace of the Supreme. She says that she had absorbed herself in "It," by which cryptic saying she means that she had become absorbed in the *Tat* of the famous formula of the *Upanishads*, "*Tat tvam asi*, Thou art It," which is the essence of the Shaiva doctrine, and indicates the identity of herself with the Supreme Self. Once she had grasped this, she claims that she had reached the *Al-thân*, the place of the Wine offered to a god, that is of Nectar. By the Place of Nectar is meant the mystic Moon in the Sahasrâra, the sinus in the subtile forehead in which the nectar of bliss is produced month by month and is said to flow from its digits. The mystic Moon is identified with the Supreme Shiva, so the Place of Wine, the *Al-thân*, is the Abode of Bliss; it is a union with the Supreme—describable by no epithet, the Highest Place. Lallâ therefore means by having "reached the Place of Wine," that she had attained Union with the Supreme.

The doctrine Lallâ is here teaching is that by devotion to Yôgic practices the devotee is finally absorbed microcosmically into the Sahasrâra and macrocosmically into the Supreme. She then

laments that so few avail themselves of this means of salvation. The wine or nectar of salvation is there, but few there be to drink of it.

Lallâ then becomes strongly Advaita, Monist, in her teaching. All that exists is but the Supreme in one or other of His manifestations. When therefore an untaught man knows not the unity of the Self and all creation with the Supreme Self, and imagines that there is a difference between "I" and "Thou," or between contemplation and its object, it is really the Supreme, temporarily blinded by His own illusive power, Who is lost in this ignorance. There is here a hit at the Dvaita theory that Nature and the Supreme are two and separate, for Lallâ's argument is that the paradox and the logical inference to be derived from it cannot be understood by the blind, the Dvaita, or those who are sunk in ignorance of the nature of things. But when a man has once grasped the facts, says Lallâ, the Seven Worlds—the whole Universe—disappear for him and he gains Release. Good men become absorbed in Him, when once they gain sight of the Supreme. Lallâ after all was very human.

The Seven Worlds are the earth, sky, heaven, middle region, place of re-birth, mansion of the blest and the abode of truth. There are also seven lower regions. The expression means the entire Universe.

The paradox of the All-Creator becoming Himself lost in forgetfulness alludes to the Shaiva doctrine of Shûnya, in Kâshmîrî Shûñ, the transcendental Void. When a Universe comes into apparent existence, the Supreme Being, after a course of development through various phases, associates Himself with Mâyâ, Illusion, and thereby becomes subjected to limited individual experience. In the first stage of this association, He as the experiencer loses the realisation of Himself as the Self of the experience: and as this happens, He becomes sleepy. In this sleep His perception of Himself becomes dim as a vague, undefined something—the Void, which is practically Nothing.

61. Whatsoever thing I do of toil,
 Burdens of completion on me lie;
Yet unto another falls the spoil
 And gains he the fruit thereof, not I.

Yet if I toil with no thought of self,
 All my works before the Self I lay:
Setting faith and duty before pelf,
 Well for me shall be the onward way.

65. Aye, if one toil with no thought of self,
 Busy at his labour, night and day—
Thought and labour that are not for pelf,
 Hope of the fruit of them put away;

If, too, he call upon Shiva's name,
 With the Swan's Way ever in his mind,
He in his soul, Twain to be the same—
 "I am He" and "He is I"—shall find.

Whoso findeth that the Twain be One,
 Let him reap whate'er his toil affords:
Shineth on him the all-gracious Sun,
 Who is the Lord of the chiefest Lords.

58. Whatsoever thing of toil I did,
 Whatsoever thing of thought I said,
That was worship in my body hid,
 That was worship hidden in my head.

When I knew that 'twas for Him I toiled,
 When I saw the Spirit of my Dream,
Then I knew the Scriptures had not spoiled
 Me of life with Shiva the Supreme.

60. None hath Knowledge reached by way of toil.
 Lieth it not on the road of pain,
Neither off it is it seeker's spoil.
 Seeking it I wore myself in vain.

Yet when I was It, and It was I,
 Then did I reach to the Place of Wine—
Wine that lies where doth the nectar lie
 In the Self-moon of that Place of mine.

There be many jars, but few to drink,
 Though Release be in every draught,
And of Naught it bringeth to the brink
 Him that Nectar of Enough hath quaffed.

59. There is neither any I nor Thou,
 Neither That to think about nor Thought;
Only is the All-Creator, now
 Self-forgotten in the Scheme of Naught.

Hidden meaning that is in this Dream
He knows not, the ignorant of thought,
Save when cometh sight of the Supreme
And absorption in the Self of Naught.

Then the Seven Worlds are gone from him,
So his Release cometh to his soul,
Through his eyes of faith no longer dim—
Lost his body and his mind made whole.

XXVI

Lallâ harks back to her main teaching—the all-importance of securing Release from Re-birth. In her mind deeds are of two kinds—the deeds of former lives, of which the accumulated results still persist, and deeds done in the present life. Both kinds have results, through the action of the endless chain of cause and effect, and so long as these results continue to exist, ultimate release is impossible.

She then describes the "way of knowledge" as a "garden of herbs," where the herbs are the deeds of the present life. It must be carefully guarded from outside temptation by the performance of the daily obligatory religious rites and the practice of quietism and self-restraint. In this garden are allowed to browse the goats destined for sacrifice to the "Mothers." These goats typify the works of former lives, the fruits of which are the existing crop—the deeds of the present life. Hemmed in by the hedge of holy works, the goats are compelled to eat this crop. In other words, the works of former lives are compelled to render themselves unfruitful. This unfruitfulness is consummated by the sacrifice of the goats and when that is accomplished, the soul becomes assimilated to the transcendental Void, the Supreme Void—the Supreme Shiva.

The term used in the text for "Mother" is *Lâmâ*. A *Lâmâ* is one of the divine Mothers or personified Energies (Shakti) of the principal deities, variously reckoned as 7, 8, 9 or 16 in number. They are closely connected with the worship of Shiva, and to them animals are offered in sacrifice. The full term used in Lallâ's text is *lâmâ-tsakra-poshu*, a beast devoted for sacrifice in the joint worship of all the Mothers, metaphorically anything devoted or destined to destruction.

Lallâ then teaches that every action has its fruit. The exercise of worldly activity produces worldly prosperity. If a man pursues a formal religion, he reaps the fruit in paradise, which is transient, and after which, when the fruits of his pious actions are exhausted,

he will be subject to Re-birth. The only hope of ultimate Release is from the acquirement of true knowledge of the Self, and this can only be acquired from the lips of an earthly teacher, according to Lallâ, a Shaiva Guru or spiritual preceptor.

63. There be herbs that in thy garden grow,
Herbs of Knowledge and of present deeds:
Fences of restraint about them throw,
Built of works ministering their needs;

Stakes of contemplation and control,
Warding temptation about thee set;
Bars of daily rites to keep thy soul
Freed from petty harassments that fret.

In thy garden let thy former deeds
Browse as beasts for sacrifice alone,
So to satisfy the Mothers' needs
And by their unfruitfulness atone.

So when thy garden be eaten bare
And thy beasts in sacrifice be slain,
Thou shalt mingle with the Void, and there
Life for ever with the Self attain.

62. 'Tis the sword that doth a kingdom gain:
'Tis thy merit that doth profit thee:
Heaven for a time is won by pain;
Paradise by works of charity.

Yet are they nothing to save thy soul.
Merit exhausted shall bring Re-birth.
Only is he saved that learns control,
Following the Teacher upon Earth.

Harvest of virtue and fruit of vice,
Come they from the sowing of the seeds;
This for benefit and this for price
Each obtaineth by his course of deeds.

XXVII

Lallâ enforces again the uselessness of work done for this world only.

One of the degraded castes of the Hindus is the Chamâr, or leather-dresser, and she uses it for a parable. Just as a Chamâr,

whose sole occupation is with that which is dead and foul, cares for a hide by cutting it into its intended shape and pegging it out to dry, so the worldly man cherishes his body, which itself is but a hide, and stretches it out over the world of enjoyment with the pegs of desire. On the other hand, the wise man is like a decent gardener. He sows the living seed that shall spring up and bear the harvest of spiritual blessing.

She then explains, from a metaphor drawn from the Kâshmîrî game of hockey, that instruction given to the foolish worldly man returns to the giver, as a hockey-ball bounds back when it strikes a goal-pillar and misses the goal.

She says that to give instruction to such a person is as much lost labour as it is to feed a lusty bullock with sweetmeats in the hope of increasing its milk. "Bullock-milk" is a common phrase used to indicate a hoped-for but impossible result. Here the fool is said not only to believe in its existence but to try to increase its yield. Molasses is often given to a cow to increase her milk; the fool tries it on the bullock.

Lallâ then weeps for her soul, her Self, which in her text she addresses as "Good Sir," lost for "love of this world." She compares it to an iron anchor, a common object in the navigable waters of Kashmîr, which she describes as the worldly possessions tying a man's soul to the world. He cannot carry them with him after death, and she weeps because her soul has forgotten Shiva the Self.

But she wakens up to joy and delight. She has passed through the door of the jasmine-garden of the soul, using terms therefor which also express "her own mind," or soul. There she "sees Shiva seated united with his Shakti" and becomes herself absorbed in the Lake of Nectar. Shiva united in one with His Shakti, or Female Energetic Power, is the Highest form of the Supreme Self. The Lake of Nectar, as already explained, is a metaphor for the bliss of union with the Supreme. Drowned in this, though alive, Lallâ has become, as it were, dead, and is certain of release from future birth, life or death.

66. Thou, as a dresser, hast shaped a hide.
    Stretching it with pegs of thy Delight:
Seest not the gardener, of his pride
    Raising him flowers of Wisdom bright?

Fool, the teaching that is proffered thee
    Is but a ball flung against the pole
At the goal's boundary, that to me
    Boundeth back, and never hits the goal.

Lost is my labour, as I were one
    Feeding stuff for udders of my cow
Unto my bullock, so that be done
    Which nor hope nor longing may allow.

67. O my soul, my dear, for thee I weep:
    Love for this World hath befallen thee.
Gentle words and gentle sounds I keep
    Hidden in tears, since thou art not free.

Iron anchors be possessions now,
    Yet not e'en their shadows shall survive,
When no longer mayest thou be thou.
    Why hast Shiv forgot while yet alive?

68. Yet shall Lallâ pass the garden door,
    Where shall bloom the jasmines of her soul;
See there rested, for her joy the more,
    Shiva and his Consort, One and whole.

Lallâ shall the Lake of Nectar stir
    With the waves of Union for her bed.
What then is existence unto her,
    Who while still in life is also dead?

Dead to all her hopes of thought and strife;
    Dwelling as one with the Self-Supreme;
Freed at last from death and birth and life;
    Conscious only of unconscious Dream.

XXVIII

Lallâ teaches the world-wide doctrine: Trust in God for the things of this life and He will provide. Put down evil desires by the poison to them of quiet meditation, guide thought to the path of immortality, and be without fear as a suckling child, and the Beginningless One Himself will take thought for thee. No formal rites are required in order to secure His protection. All that is necessary is unceasingly to utter the Unobstructed Cry, the mystic syllable *Om*, the efficacy and meaning of which has been already described. This uttered properly and with faith will secure the presence of the Supreme, Who is everything that man can need.

71. Armed with arrows of temptation bright,
Lust, Desire and Wrath be demons three
Thou of a surety must slay outright,
Or of a surety they murder thee.

Poison unto them shall be thy Thought.
Feed them therefore carefully with flour
Turned to bread with meditation fraught;
Then shalt know how little is their power.

70. Thoughts unguided fall a ready prey
Unto ways of evil; so do thou
Put them on the path of life, that they
Thee with immortality endow.

Be thou of thy courage without fear,
Like as a suckling child that rests
Fearlessly on that to him most dear,
Snuggling close betwixt his mother's breasts.

72. O my restless Self, fear not thy part.
He that was and is and aye shall be—
Whatso thou dost, wheresoe'er thou art,
Or wouldst dwell, He taketh thought for thee.

He shall keep thee hungerless and clad.
Never rite nor service be thy aim,
Neither sacrifice to make Him glad,
Cry Ôm rightly and His service claim.

XXIX

Lallâ uses the common expression "fear of death" to enforce the wisdom of listening to her doctrine of the importance of the ascetic exercises of the *yôgî* to escape death and subsequent re-birth.

First she says that happy revels, the pleasures of the theatre, a bed of cotton down, and emblems of royalty cannot last and cannot save from the fear of death. Among the emblems of royalty her text places first the chowry or fly-whisk and the umbrella. So strong is the feeling that the umbrella is a symbol of royalty, position or wealth, that not long ago a serious riot took place in Southern India, owing to the fact that some low-caste people had taken to going about with cheap umbrellas imported from

England. It was held that people of such castes had no right to protect themselves from the sun or rain.

Then she takes a common object in Kâshmîrî scenery, the high-banked road across marshy country, for her parable, and says that the soul, being sunk in the ocean of existence, has destroyed the high-banked road of truth by which the Self is enabled to approach the Supreme. So can the apparitors of Yama, the god who rules the land of shades, carry off the soul after death for judgment by him, cruelly treating it on the way. No one can save the soul from the fear of this. The treatment indicated is particularly harsh, for the expression used means "making into the stream of a torrent," in reference to a punishment in which the criminal is dragged along the ground till the blood pours from his body in streams.

Lallâ then explains that works are of two kinds, and states that there are "three causes." She is here technical, and refers to good and bad works and the three causes of the apparent existence of the material world, known as "the impurities": that due to the soul deeming itself to be finite; that due to the cognition that one thing is different from another; that resulting in action—the producer of pleasure and pain.

It is the devotee's business to destroy all the fruits of all works, whether good or bad, and the impurities also. This he does by his Yôgic practices, especially by that of bottling up the breath and suspending it entirely, and so allowing his Self to become unified with the Supreme.

The *yôgî* is enjoined to "arise, mount, pierce through the Sun's disc." The disembodied soul, reaching to emancipation, is believed to pass through the Sun's orb on its way to union with the Supreme. It is thus that the fear of death and re-birth can be conquered.

Finally Lallâ urges her hearers to do as she preaches and by the knowledge she teaches to expel the fear of death and re-birth.

73. Hast for thine a chariot and a throne,
Emblems of royalty, and the whirl
Revelry affords, and for thine own
Witching graces of the dancing girl?

Hast a bed of cotton down, and things
Luxury provides? The Teacher saith:—
Which of these a lasting comfort brings?
Shall they save thee from the fear of death?

74. Held by dark illusion in the deep
Ocean of this transitory Dream,
Hast destroyed the high-banked roads that keep
Thee from marshes guarding the Supreme?

Yama's slaves at the appointed time,
Hustle thee bleeding, the Teacher saith,
To his feet to answer for thy crime.
Who shall save thee from the fear of death?

75. Those impurities that hinder thee—
Works that joy and pain for thee portend,
Sight of difference 'twixt things that be,
Thought that the soul compasseth its end;—

Those deeds of thine that are good and bad:
Kill them all by stoppage of thy breath,
So thou be nothing, nor sad, nor glad.
This shall save thee from the fear of death.

Thus shall be the mark of honour thine;
Thus another World shall thee absorb;
Thus the Soul-light shall upon thee shine.
Rise then to the Sun and pierce his orb.

76. Clothe thyself in the garb of Thought:
Brand on thy heart what Lallâ saith:
Join the Soul-light with the Ôm of Naught:
So expel from thee the fear of death.

XXX

Lallâ, in true Indian fashion, asks four questions of her Guru or spiritual preceptor, and receives from him highly technical answers, leading up to the point that the supreme station, which is the *yôgî's* object, is the Spirit-Shiva, the Supreme Self.

First she asks: "Who is he that is wrapped in sleep, and who is he that is awake?" The answer is, the mind, the thinking faculty: it is wrapped in sleep, but when it has transcended the Family, the *kula* or group of the essentials for the experience of the existence of the Self, as distinct from the Supreme Self, it is awake: a cryptic saying requiring explanation.

In the Shaiva Philosophy the mind receives outside impressions and forms them into conceptions which it preserves as the finished product of cognition. It then executes the decisions derived from

the organ of cognition by influencing the organ of action. The whole of this view is traceable in the expression "mind" here. The Family consists of the individual soul; primal matter on which the individual soul acts, and which reacts on it; limited space; limited time; the five principles of experience—solidity, liquidity, formativity, aeriality and vacuity. When the mind transcends these and recognises its Self as one with the limitless Supreme Self, it is in a state of grace, or, as is here said, it is awake. The whole idea is to be found in the *Bhagavad Gîtâ*.

The second question is: "What lake is it that continually oozeth away?" The answer is, the five organs which are the principles of action—generation, excretion, locomotion, handling and expression by voice. The continued exercise of these takes away from the power of Self-realisation. Conquest over them by Yôgic exercises awakens the mind.

The third question is: "What is that which a man may offer in worship to Hara?" The answer is, the holy thing to offer is the discrimination of the Self, which leads to union with the Supreme Self. Hara is a name of Shiva, the personal form of the impersonal Supreme.

The last question is: "What is the supreme station to which thou wilt attain?" The answer is, the Spirit Shiva, the ultimate Supreme, Shiva in his quality of Supreme Spirit, as opposed to his more material manifestations.

78. Who is he that is fast wrapped in sleep?
Who that doth in wakefulness remain?

79. Mind it is that doth in slumber keep:
Mind that doth to wakefulness attain.

There is a Family thou must rout,
So thy mind's Self to the Self transcend:—
Soul that is ringed with the things about;
Time for thee that cometh to an end;

Space thou seest with horizon deep;
That which for thee Experience makes:—
While the fight lasts is thy Mind asleep;
With the fight over thy Self awakes.

78. Which is the Lake that is oozing fast,
Ever seducing thy Mind from Thought?

79. Action into moving waters cast
Knowledge of thy Self shall bring to naught.

78. What may a man offer unto Shiv?
79. Maketh he gift of a holy thing
Unto Har in worship, if he give
That which Knowledge of the Self shall bring.

78. What is the height that thou wouldst attain?
79. If thou wilt a wakeful service give—
If thou wilt a grateful worship gain,
Thou shalt reach unto the Spirit Shiv.

XXXI

Lallâ again reverts to her memories of former lives to enforce the importance of the doctrine of achieving final Release. She had been born again and again, but in former births she had not known the Self. She had been born in various forms, divine, human, bestial, as a worm, or what not, and each time had drunk the water of the Sindhu, playing many parts on the stage of human existence. The Sindhu is one of the chief rivers of Kashmîr, famous for its excellent water. She had been born over and over again as a human being, experiencing, or as she puts it in Indian idiom eating, human flesh, and now at length she has recognised that it has been the one Self all the time, and that all these existences in ignorance had been profitless.

And then, in highly mystical verses, she explains that by her Yôgic exercises she had reached the place of illumination, Release. She brought *Ôm* and her breath under control. The mystic syllable may here be taken as indicating any vital formula, such, for instance, as *Tat tvam asi*, Thou art It, explained above. She brought this under control, mastered it, and then became imbued with the truth. She then became able to suppress her vital airs, and thereby entered into a state of grace. By this suppression her fame became suffused with a holy fire.

She suppressed the vital airs "by traversing the six ways and gaining the seventh." The six ways are the six Circles, Places, or seats of the six subordinate Shaktis, female Energies, that urge a man to action. They are held to be located along what corresponds to the spinal cord of a man's subtile body. The devotee has to master them one by one and then attains to the seventh and highest station, the Sahasrâra in the brain, by meditating on which he obtains final Release.

81. I am the same Lallâ that has played
Many parts within this World of Birth:
Many sorts of mankind have I made
For a day my home upon this Earth.

Every time that I have wished for wine,
Only from one Sindhu have I drunk
Water of that ignorance of mine,
Deep in the bog of unprofit sunk.

82. Now by concentration of my thought
Ôm and breath are brought to my control;
All my mind in holy fire is caught
Till my body is a blazing coal.

All the Places that there are in me—
Seats of action in the heated ways—
One by one I conquered till there be
Left but the Place that the cold displays.

That is where Illumination dwells,
That the abode of Eternal Peace,
Whence the Nectar of my Knowledge wells,
Flowing to the Stream that brings Release.

XXXII

Lallâ has seen the injustice of the world and longs for freedom from the desire for existence. In this instance, she, it will be observed, does not claim, as she often does, to have conquered desire and obtained Release on her death. And then in two quatrains she reiterates the plaint of her verses—the miserable uncertainty of human existence in this world, till a man has known the Supreme.

These two quatrains are hard sayings nowadays, owing to the exact meaning of her words being lost to modern Kâshmîrîs. Their general sense is, however, plain enough.

83. I have seen a hungry wise man fall
Like a sere leaf in a gentle wind,
Winter's hunger claiming him, for all
Benefit for him could Wisdom find.

I have seen a rich and graceless fool
Beating his cook for a meal's delay,
I am waiting for the love and rule
Binding me here to be cut away.

84. What is this hath happened unto me?
In my life but one tale have I found:—
Chanced upon a lake, I cannot see
On which sand-bank I shall run aground.

85. What is this hath happened unto me?
  On a sand-bank shall I run aground?
Like a craftsman I am building free
  Craft of Self, where safety shall be found.

XXXIII

Lallâ, in her verses, sometimes seems to have been under the influence of Sûfî doctrine, for she uses words with a plain and an esoteric meaning throughout them, according to the deliberate habit of the Sûfîs. At the same time, religious verse with a double meaning—plain and hidden—is a popular Indian custom.

She now indulges in it again in a very difficult quatrain, the sense of which is given in the English rendering. The quatrain turns upon the double sense of the word *prân*, an onion and also "a vital air," and on the treble sense of the expression *dam dyunu*, to give breath as to a bellows, to give forth breath by crying out, to control the breath by Yôgic exercise. The general sense is that conveyed in the English rendering. What she meant to impress upon her hearers was that she had whipped out the thief of her vital airs, or the worldly temptations that interfere with their proper control, by the whip of saying *Ôm* properly, the esoteric sense of which has been already explained. She had then attained Release.

This she follows up by two other quatrains, in which are a number of words with double meanings, so that the whole has two different interpretations. These quatrains are still more difficult to render into English than that preceding them.

In the exoteric sense of these verses Lallâ describes how she went into the market, helpless and wretched, and cried lotus stalks and onions and garlic for sale. Lotus-stalks are stewed with meat and freely eaten in Kashmîr. Onions fried by themselves make only an evil-smelling mess, of no use for food; lotus-stalks are a very common object and valueless in the market. So Lallâ says that she went and found the flavour of "*Sô 'ham*," "I am He," or of its reverse form *Hamsah*, the Way of the Swan, that leads to Release, as has been already explained.

By the esoteric interpretation Lallâ describes how, sad and helpless, she cried in the world, "Here is a thing of nothing worth, will ye not buy?" And coming to her senses, she says, "Behold how well I cried, 'the breathing body and the Soul will ye not take under control?'" That is to say, "Will ye not follow the way of the *yôgî*?" towards Release. Then she says that she "came to know that if a man cherish only his body, he will not

gain the flavour of true bliss and will reap no true joy," and therefore she "gained for herself the flavour of 'I am He.'"

The sense she conveyed to her hearers to be the meaning of all these cryptic sayings was that, in her early days, before she had reached a knowledge of her Self, she had been offering worthless teaching to the people and had urged them to accept it. Then again, when she had learnt the truth, she came and urged them to practise *Yôga* by controlling their vital breaths and by mastering a knowledge of the nature of the Soul. Cherishing the body and devoting oneself to worldly enjoyment give no profit. They may give apparent temporary pleasure, but even this is mixed with pain, and in the end there is no profit—only ceaseless soul-wandering. Lallâ says that she has grasped this fact and thereby discovered the rapture of the great truth contained in the formula "I am He" or "Thou art It," the Way of the Swan.

This takes Lallâ to a still harder saying, the true interpretation of which is uncertain, and is much at the initiated hearers' will. The words and the interpretation put upon them here, without Kâshmîrî authority, are as follows. She commences by saying in her text: "Once wast thou a swan and now thou hast become mute. Some one, I know not who, hath run off with something of thine." The swan, in Hindu fable, has a very melodious voice, and Lallâ, addressing herself, says that she, whose voice was once like the swan's, has now become dumb.

Then, taking the corn-mill as her metaphor, she runs on: "As soon as the mill became stopped, the grain became choked, and away ran the miller with the grain." When a millstone stops revolving, the orifice in the upper stone, through which the grain is fed on its way to being ground, becomes blocked up and hidden under a pile of grain. Lallâ seems to mean that she has now found salvation and is in a state of silent rapture. Formerly she had preached volubly, but now that she sees the Supreme she is silent. The Supreme is the Miller, who turns the mill of worldly experience in order to grind out the grain of the chastened soul. Now He has finished His work. The mill is still, the channel blocked by husks, and the Miller has taken to Himself the grain. The soul has thus reached the Supreme and obtained Release.

The whole quatrain has a curious echo of Ecclesiastes xii. 3–4:

> In the day when the keepers of the house shall tremble, and the strong men shall bow themselves, and the grinders cease because they are few, and those that look out of the windows be darkened,
>
> And the doors shall be shut in the streets, when the sound of the grinding is low, and he shall rise up at the voice of the bird, and all the daughters of musick shall be brought low.

101. Some one stole the onions of my breath;
Locked I doors and windows of my heart;
Thieves of temptation I whipped to death,
Bound with the Ôm of my Yôgî's art.

89. Cried I in the market: "Who will buy?
Try my onions and garlic cheap!
Sad and helpless in this World am I;
Who will buy the lotus-stalks I keep?"

90. Yet be onions and thy garlic one:
Learnt I this when Knowledge came to me.
Garlic for his dinner frieth none:
So I sought the taste of "I am He."

89. Sad and helpless in this World, cried I:—
"Here is that is worthless: offers make!
Hark, in the market how well I cry!
Breath and thy soul to thy service take."

90. Yet be thy breath and thy soul but one.
Learn thou this when Knowledge comes to thee.
Cherisher of this let there be none:
Gain the flavour of "I am He."

86. Once like the swan's was my voice divine.
Now that I have sung that voice is mute.
One hath stolen something that was mine.
I know not who, and shall not dispute.

I have stopped my mill: 'tis choked with grain—
Grain that hath taken the Miller wise.
I that have sung will not sing again.
Now the Miller is before mine eyes.

XXXIV

Lallâ has a wail over the evil times in store. Even the Siddhs, holy personages who have attained to one of the stages of beatitude, have no memory of past times and past existences to profit by it. So then, what chance have the children of the coming generation? Times will become more and more evil, and there is none to warn or to guide to the true knowledge. Human nature itself will change for the worse, as if pears and apples, whose ripening time is the late autumn, were to change and ripen with the

apricot in the height of the summer rainy season. All women will be unchaste: mother and daughter will go hand in hand searching for strange men.

The main idea here has survived in a familiar Kâshmîrî proverb: "When apples ripen with the apricots, then, O father, will come the day of resurrection" on a day and at an hour when men look not for it.

91. O Holy Siddh, lend thy saintly ear
Heedfully to these poor words from me:—
Of the past days thou tarriedst here
Be there any memory for thee?

O ye Children, hearken unto me:—
How pass ye your day and how your night?
Dark and darker shall time-coming be.
What shall ye do then that seek the light?

92. In these evil times doth Nature bow
Unto them that walk in wrongful ways.
Autumn pears and apples ripen now
With the apricots of summer days.

In the coming days of shame and wrath
Mother and her daughter, hand in hand,
Strangers to accost shall wander forth;
Men and women in an evil band.

Pr. 214. Heedless ever that the Day Sublime
Cometh when the wicked looketh not—
When the apple of the autumn time
Ripens with the summer apricot.

XXXV

Lallâ, in thoroughly cryptic and typically philosophic Hindu verse, drives home her doctrine of Release. She is revelling in the old Sânkhya-Yôga philosophic method, which systematically enumerated their terms and then referred to them by the numbers which the world was supposed to know and recognise. So she refers to the Five, the Ten and the Eleven as if all mankind would at once grasp her meaning. Her verse is now cryptic to an extreme in consequence. To those unversed in a Hindu philosophy, the difficulty of comprehension is rendered the greater by the fact of there being more than one Five and Six, and so on.

She begins by saying: "What shall I do to the Five, to the Ten, to the Eleven?" Here the Five are the five principles of experience of the material world; the Ten are the ten principal and secondary vital airs; and the Eleven are the five organs of sense and the five organs of action, together with the thinking faculty which rules them, as the eleventh.

If all these could be controlled and were all united in the one endeavour to compass Self-realisation, there would be a chance of success in reaching the Supreme. But for the unenlightened soul they all pull in different directions, one misdirecting the soul hither and another thither to the soul's ruin. Lallâ likens the situation to a cow owned by eleven masters, each of whom holds it by a separate rope, and each of them pulls it in a different direction. The result is loss, the destruction of the cow. But on the other hand, if they are all under control and pull together, as the *yôgî* endeavours to make them do by his practices, the cow, or soul, can be saved and reach Release.

In the course of her verse Lallâ likens the soul to a pot, and asks: "Who scraped out this pot and departed?" Just as people take a pot of food to ladle out its contents, scraping out the last dregs, so do the experiences of the world, the uncontrolled vital airs or desires and the mind, take the last dregs of worldly enjoyment out of the soul for their own purposes and then go away and leave it helpless. They have only gained temporary joys for themselves, while the soul has lost its opportunity of union with the Supreme.

The numeral method of expressing philosophic points is reminiscent of a story attributed to a hero of Shrewsbury School under Dr Kennedy, in the 'sixties of the last century. He was set to write Latin verses, after the fashion then in vogue and especially there, on Guy Fawkes. He perpetrated a couplet said to contain more mistakes of scansion and grammar than had ever been known, and so cryptic as to demand a translation from the writer. The couplet ran as follows:

Guy Vulpes calidus gelidus cum omnia fecit
Gaudio cum multo ille recepit eum.

Guy Fawkes hot-headed and cold-blooded; when he *had* done everything,
With much joy he (the policeman) took him up (*recepit eum*).

95. There be the five and there be the ten,
There be the eleven that we know.
Have ye not this pot scraped out, and then
Emptied out the dregs, and left it so.

The experiences of life be five,
And be ten the breaths that make us whole:
Five the senses, five the acts that thrive,
And one thinking power for control.

Five, ten, and eleven in the Soul
Be for Release or Enjoyment keen.
Some shall give it safety by control:
Some for their pleasure shall scrape it clean.

Be eleven owners of a cow;
Be eleven ropes to hold her by:
Pull together they as one, then how
Shall the soul be lost to them that try?

XXXVI

Lallâ in one of her sayings, so popular that it is now found in many forms and yet contains a double meaning, enforces the doctrine of the importance of gaining a knowledge of the Supreme Self in the manner of the *yôgî*.

She says: "By a way I came, but I went not by the way: while I was yet on the midst of the embankment with its crazy bridges, the day failed me." By "way" here is meant a highway (a very different thing in Lallâ's time from what such is now in Kashmîr, be it remembered), as distinct from an uncertain track. This highway is birth as a human being capable of gaining salvation, and Lallâ says it was her good fortune to come into the world by it. But she did not avail herself of the opportunity; and so, when she died, she left the highway of salvation and was compelled to be born and re-born.

She says that she was in the midst of the embankment with its crazy bridges when the day failed for her, *i.e.*, when she died in a former life. It is this part of the saying that has made it so dear to the Kâshmîrîs, owing to its reference to their most cherished customs. By "crazy bridge" she refers to a *sum*, one or two planks or even sticks thrown across a gap in an embankment such as is common in Kashmîr, where marshy or dangerous ground abounds. It was when she was in such circumstances of difficulty and danger that she says she died. She then fell into the river of death and found she had no money in her pocket to pay for a ferry-fee.

All this refers to ceremonies of the Kâshmîrî Hindus for the disposal of the dead. Their belief is that during the sixth month after death the spirit of the deceased has to cross the waters of

the Vaitaranî, the Styx: but it is impossible to get to the other side of the river except by special means, as the waters are so deep and stormy and the opposing powers of evil are so strong. Accordingly about this time the bereaved relations call the family Brâhman, who repeats to them the portions appointed to be read on this occasion. Among other things the departed spirit is represented as standing on the brink of the river and crying "Where is my father? Where is my mother? Where are my relations and my friends? Is there no one to help me over this river?" This is sometimes recited with much feeling, and great are the lamentations of the bereaved, who now with sobs and tears present a little boat and paddle, made of gold, or silver or copper, according to positions, to the Brâhman: and in the boat they place boiled butter, milk, butter and rice. The boat is for the conveyance of the spirit across the Vaitaranî, and the provisions are for the appeasement of the contrary powers and others who will try to turn back the boat, but on having the food thrown to them will at once depart their own way.

The Hindus believe that if this ceremony is performed in a right manner, a boat will at once be present upon the waters, close to that portion of the bank of the river, where the spirit is waiting and praying for it, and that the spirit, getting into it, will be safely conveyed to the opposite side.

At the moment of death, among other things, a small copper coin is placed within the mouth of the corpse wherewith to pay the ferry-fee.

The strength of Lallâ's verse now becomes patent, but the whole statement regarding the payment of the ferry-fee depends upon the reading of an expression, *har na atê*. If it is to be read *hâr na atê* it means "a cowry was not there," she had no money. But if we read *Har na atê*, it means that "Hara was not there." Hara is a name for Shiva and we thus get at Lallâ's esoteric meaning; for it is not the literal cowry that she missed, but the name of Shiva, which she found not in the pocket of her mind.

With the aid of another double meaning we find the second sense of the verse. The expression actually used by Lallâ in the previous line is "*suman-sothi-manz lûstum doh*," meaning "in the embankment with crazy bridges (*suman*) the day came to an end for me," or the first words may mean "in the embankment of the illusions of the mind," properly "*swa-man-sothi-manz*," but when read out or recited without regard to spelling this has much the same sound as the other phrase. By this esoteric reading Lallâ's sense is this. When she died she found that in her lifetime she had not stored up a knowledge of the Supreme Shiva, the

Supreme Self, in her intellect; and therefore on her deathbed she found no saving grace, or as she expresses it, she found herself in the dark on some crazy bridge over a fathomless abyss and had nothing available to pay for the boat of salvation to ferry her across.

The whole moral is that inasmuch as birth in a human body is the only chance that a soul has of being saved, when it is fortunate enough to obtain such a birth, it should spend its lifetime in gaining a knowledge of the Supreme Self.

98. By the highway of Release I came,
Pr. 18. Yet by the highway I did not go.
Stumbling on the crazy bridge of fame,
Lost I my day, for I did not know.

Falling to the stream of death, I found
Naught in my mind for the ferry fee:
Not a cowry though I looked around,
Nor the Name of Har for saving me.

Birth in womb of woman thus for me
No more availed than an empty dream.
Birth from woman also is for thee:
Gain then Knowledge of the Self-Supreme.

XXXVII

In very popular verse which has come down in two versions Lallâ makes a spirited appeal to herself. Both versions are given in the English rendering.

Addressing herself, she says that she has begun to receive instruction and urges herself to go forward. The desire for knowledge has come to her and she must seek for the Friend, the Supreme Self: and there is hurry.

She must find Him somehow: fly the ocean between them if need be. She must convert the crude iron of her soul into the gold of the Supreme Self; and there she becomes mystical. She must accomplish this by controlling the vital airs circulating through the air-passages of her subtile body; just as a blacksmith controls the pipes of his bellows, and with the air thus controlled, turns his rough iron into what he desires.

She describes herself as an ignorant fool, careless of leaving off "wickedness"; this she describes as "the behaviour of a government messenger" (*pyödil*), who is looked on by the Kâshmîrî public as making his money by oppression, lying and cheating—by wickedness generally.

99\. Thou that art heedless, lift thy foot with speed:
Set upon thy journey to the end.
Hasten thou to Knowledge. There is need.
Dawn is now upon thee: seek thy Friend.

Make for thyself wings upon thy feet.
Pr. 46. Ocean hath no bridge to passage lend.
Take such way of crossing as is meet.
Dawn is now upon thee: seek thy Friend.

100\. Breathe so in thy bellows as doth he
That his iron heateth till it bend:
So through thee thine iron gold shall be.
Dawn is now upon thee: seek thy Friend.

Pr. 46. Thou that art heedless, thy breath control,
So the iron of thy heart thou mend.
Be not a fool, careless of thy soul.
Dawn is now upon thee: seek thy Friend.

XXXVIII

Lallâ gives another of her hard sayings of uncertain interpretation, though the general meaning is clear enough,—the hardness of the life leading to Release. She describes her progress to true knowledge through the metaphor of a cotton pod.

The cotton is first roughly treated by the cleaner and the carder. It is next spun into a fine thread and then hung up as the warp on a weaver's loom, by a further process of rough treatment. As finished cloth it is then dashed by the washerman on his stone and otherwise severely handled in order to whiten it; and finally the tailor cuts it up and makes out of it a finished garment.

The various stages towards the attainment of knowledge are thus metaphorically indicated, but the explanation of each metaphor is uncertain. Each stage in the manufacture of the cloth may represent, not a stage in a single life, but a separate existence in Lallâ's progress from birth to birth.

The procedure of an Indian washerman is universal in the country. He has, half submerged on the bank of a pond or river, a large flat stone. On this he dashes with great force the garment to be washed, which has been previously soaked in soap and water. It is a most effective method of driving out all dirt, and also, incidentally, of ruining the texture of the cloth.

The term *lath*, a kick, is used twice in Lallâ's text: once when the cotton is under the carder's bow and again when the threads are hung up and strained tight in the loom. The sense is that of general ill-treatment.

102\. First, I, Lallâ, as a cotton bloom,
Blithely set forth on the path of life.
Next came the knocks of the cleanser's room,
And the hard blows of the carder's wife.

Gossamer from me a woman spun,
Twisting me about upon her wheel.
Then on a loom was I left undone,
While the kicks of the weaver did I feel.

103\. Cloth now become, on the washing stone
Washermen dashed me to their content.
Whitened me with earths, and skin and bone
Cleaned they with soaps to my wonderment.

Tailors then their scissors worked on me:
Cut me and finished me, piece by piece.
Garment at last, as a Soul set free
Found I the Self and obtained Release.

Hard is the way of the Soul on Earth,
Ere it may reach to the journey's end.
Hard is the path of life in each Birth,
Ere thou canst take the hand of the Friend.

XXXIX

Lallâ has yet another saying, the full meaning of which is still doubtful, though the sense of having attained Release is clear.

She may mean that when she first began to utter her Sayings—as she calls her verses and as they are still called, *Lallâ-vâkyâni*—though they intoxicated her like wine, she had no conception that they would have any permanent effect on her. Yet she found that by their help she became enabled to dissipate the inner darkness of her soul.

Or she may be referring to the vanities of this world. Feeling distrustful and fearful of the dark mysterious world of phenomena, she drank the wine of her verses to give herself courage to fight against it, and thus was emboldened to knock down its phantasmagoria.

104. Filled I in my goblet to the brim
  Wine of my Sayings that favour give:
Drained I the cup, till mine eyes grew dim
  With the drunkenness awhile that lives.

Yet I hoped from it never a prize:
  Never I placed in it smallest trust.
Still it dispelled the murk in mine eyes
  Mine inner soul hath upon me thrust.

Strong in the courage of this my wine,
  Seized I the curtain to tear away;
Till before me was the path divine,
  Freed of vanities clouding my way.

XL

Lallâ expresses the cry of the helpless to God. She has tried formal religion, but found it as little helpful as if she had tried to tow the ship of her soul across the ocean of existence with a rope of untwisted thread. The term used here for "God" is *Day*, God, the Supreme, and not one of those by which Lallâ usually designates the Supreme.

She then addresses the unbeliever, whom she calls by three names: *Hâ manushe*, O man, *hamâli*, O burden-bearer, and *mâli*, O father, Good Sir, Sir. *Hamâli* can also be read as *hâ mâli*, O father.

Then she tells him that he is drawing his ship by a rope of sand. The rope of sand is belief in formal religion, and the ship is the desire for worldly joys. The accomplishment of such desires is beyond the reach of any man, as he can only attain to that which is written on his forehead as his fate by Nârâyan, in Kâshmîrî Nârân, or Vishnu, the Supreme. No ordinary effort of will can alter that.

The conclusion of the whole matter is that the only method of escaping fate is to effect the union of the Self with the Supreme by Yôga-practice. This is conveyed by the appeal to the "burden-bearer." In India he is the porter, a labouring man accustomed to lifting heavy weights, and, as such, is employed on the hard work of pulling a tow-rope. This method of taking a boat up-stream is a common sight on Kashmîr rivers. The inference is that only by his own special effort will a man bring his ship home.

There is a hint of both Vaishnavism and Sûfîism in the terms Nârân and Day being used for the Supreme.

106. With a thin rope of untwisted thread
  Tow I ever my boat o'er the sea.
Will God hear the prayers that I have said?
  Will he safely over carry me?

Water in a cup of unbaked clay,
  Whirling and wasting, my dizzy soul
Slowly is filling to melt away.
  Oh, how fain would I reach my goal!

107. Why art thou twisting a rope of sand?
  Man of the tow-path, with such a line
How shall come thy vessel to thy hand?
  How shall follow thee that ship of thine?

Hath not Nârân written in thy fate?
  None, Good Sir, shall alter his decree.
Only thine own effort may create
  Union 'twixt the Self-Supreme and thee.

XLI

Lallâ has yet another hard saying. The sense of it adopted in the English wording is that she utters a cry of despair.

Like Christian in *The Pilgrim's Progress*, she has been bearing on her back a burden of worldly illusions and pleasures, compared to a load of sugar-candy, and the knot of the porter's sling that supports it has become loose and galls her. She has found that such a burden produces toil and pain. Her wasted life in this workaday world has become a weariness and she is in despair.

She has recourse to her Guru, her spiritual Teacher. His words cause her intolerable pain, such as that experienced by the loss of a beloved object—the worldly illusion that she must abandon. She learns that the whole of the flock of factors that make up her sentient existence have lost their proper ruler, the mind; for it is steeped in ignorance of Self.

But she says: "Searching and seeking I came from my inner soul into the moonlight." This is a cryptic saying referring to Yôgic teaching. By it she means that her organ of thought became absorbed into the Sahasrâra and that she had thus attained to Release. She had come into the light of true knowledge, or, as she emphatically puts it, she "came to know that like are joined to like"—the Self is the same as the Supreme Self and must become absorbed in it.

The Shaiva Lallâ next makes a directly Vaishnava appeal: "This All is only Thou, O Nârân, only Thou, only Thou." Nârâyan is the name for the Supreme employed by Vaishnavas, and Lallâ asks "What are all these thy sports?" Sport is a common Indian technical term for the changes apparently undergone by the Deity, by which He manifests Himself in creation. The question has an implied answer: "They are all unreal illusion."

The whole idea is that Lallâ and the Supreme have become one Self—she has attained the object of the *yôgî*.

108. Loose the sugar-load upon my back:
Sling and knot do my poor shoulder gall:
Crooked hath my day's work gone, alack.
How can I bear with it, ere I fall?

Seeking my Teacher, I heard Him tell
Truths that like a blister hurt my heart—
Pain of lost illusion loved so well.
How can I bear with it, ere we part?

Flocks of my consciousness all are lost,
Gone from their shepherd beyond recall,
Ere the mountain of Release be crossed;
How can I bear with it, ere I fall?

109. Searching and seeking from my inner soul,
Came I to the Moon of Knowledge bright:
Searching and seeking, I learnt the whole
Truth that like shall with the like unite

O Nârân, the All is only Thou.
Only Thee, Nârân, in all I see.
O Nârân, the sports Thou showest now
Are but clear illusions unto me.

Learning my Self to be Self-Supreme,
I have learnt, Nârân, why Thou dost sport:
I have solved the Riddle of the Dream,
Where we twain do as one Self consort.

XLII

Lallâ compares a man's soul to an elephant begging for food to destroy—the food being the craving lusts of man. But she remarks that but few are saved: "Had this not been so, the elephant had crushed them all under his feet."

Then, changing her metaphor, she advises her hearer to "Keep away dirt from the garden of thy heart," so that "the narcissus-garden" of his Yôgic practices may be blossoming when Death comes to him.

Pr. 150. Like a great elephant is the soul,
Begging every hour to be fed
With lusts of life, so he them control,
Crushing under foot till they be dead.

Only one in many shall be saved,
Since their souls they heard not when they cried,
Nor the food have given them that they craved;
So the lusts within them have not died.

Pr. 56. Keep then clean the garden of thy heart,
So thy lilies may in blossom be,
And thou give good answer for thy part,
When the bailiff, Death, doth question thee.

XLIII

Lallâ preaches resignation in fine verse, which is constantly quoted by Kâshmîrîs in part and *in toto* in time of trouble.

She refers to Hindu burial, or rather burning, rites. Hindus burn the body, laying it upon the right side, with the head towards the south, because the gods and good spirits live in that direction, and Yama, the god of death and the judge of souls after death, also resides there.

The term here translated "Father" in the English rendering is a term of respect, and conveys the sense of "Good Sir, Sir."

Pr. 57. Father, the pigeon-loft of my heart
Filled is with longings I'll not obtain,
Teach me, Father, that I bear my part
So but resignation shall remain.

With much labour have I wearied me,
Building houses wherein others live,
Scattering gifts, that a help I be,
Till arms ached, so often did I give.

Yet, O my body, shalt thou be borne
Out of thine house and into a field,
Where shall be many of them that mourn
Bringing tribute that shall nothing yield.

There shall they place thee for thy long sleep
  On thy right side amid garlands fair:
So for thee Spirits shall vigil keep
  And the Lord of Death shall guard thee there.

XLIV

Lallâ is again Vaishnava in form and addresses the Deity as Bhagawân, the Lord, the Adorable, the Most High: "O Bhagawân, I adore thy greatness." She teaches by a number of metaphors the absolute dependence of all mankind on the uncontrolled will of the Almighty.

Some have many sons, likened to poppies, and are fortunate. Others are "haltered with daughters for murdering a Brâhman in a former existence," this being the most heinous of sins to a Hindu. Daughters are a misfortune because they cannot perform the death-ceremonies that ensure Release. Others again, who "do not know the fortunate hour of the day," have been left childless. It is all in the hands of the Most High.

"Some Thou calledst up from There, Thy heaven: some snatched the river Veth by the neck of her coat." The Veth, Sanskrit Vitastâ, the modern Jehlam, is the principal river in Kashmîr, and is used as a symbol of prosperity, owing to the fruitful crops produced by its waters. It is always treated as feminine. The two phrases indicate that some prosper greatly and some not at all by the grace of God. "Whom God will, God blesseth."

"Some have drunk wine and lifted their eyes upwards." The wine is wisdom, performances of *yôgic* duties, and those that have drunk it have found heaven. "Some have gone and closed their shops,"—have failed. It is all in God's hands.

Some have wives, as pleasant and valuable "as a shady plane-tree," others have wives "like a shade full of holes"—as valueless as the shade cast by a worn-out thatch. It is a matter of the Will of the Almighty.

Pr. 102. Some have many poppies at Thy hand,
  Sons as bright and welcome as the flowers.
Some have naught but daughters in the land.
  O Bhagwân, how wondrous are Thy powers.

Daughters may not expiate the guilt
  Fathers piled up in forgotten hours.
Some are childless, merely since Thou wilt.
  O Bhagwân, how wondrous are Thy powers.

Some the Veth have shaken by her coat,
  Seizing the prosperity she showers.
Since 'tis Thou that dost direct the boat.
  O Bhagwân, how wondrous are Thy powers.

Some have heaven found in cups of wine:
  Some find nothing in their luckless hours.
Some have closed shops by decree divine.
  O Bhagwân, how wondrous are Thy powers.

Some have wives delightful as the planes:
  Let us go and cool us in the hours
When the sunshine's glare our eyesight strains.
  O Bhagwân, how wondrous are Thy powers.

Wives whose shade is as the outer light
  Trouble many in this world of ours.
Some indeed, like dogs, can only bite.
  O Bhagwân, how wondrous are Thy powers.

Be his sin misfortune, be it guilt;
  Be the guerdon ashes, be it flowers,
O Bhagwân, Thou blessest whom Thou wilt.
  O Bhagwân, how wondrous are Thy powers.

XLV

There is a story told of Lallâ—there are very many such—that she was sitting one day with Sed Bâyû, the traditional name of her Preceptor, when the following questions cropped up:

Which is the greatest of all lights? Which is the most famous of all pilgrimages? Which is the best of all relations? Which is the best of all manner of ease?

The answers are said to have led to a friendly argument between them in a fashion common in Indian legend, and samples are to be found frequently elsewhere in Hindu literature. Lallâ started it, was contradicted by her Preceptor, and then she wound it up, naturally to her advantage, in the verses attributed to her.

The points of the argument are obvious and require no elucidation except the pilgrimage to Gang. Gangâ is the lake of Gangâbal, one of the great Hindu places of pilgrimage in Kashmîr. Hither go all those Kâshmîrî Brâhmans, who have had relations die during the year, carrying some small bones, which they have picked from the ashes at the time of the burning of the dead bodies. These bones are thrown into the sacred waters of the

Gangâ with money and sweetmeats. The pilgrimage takes place about the eighth day of the Hindu month Bâdarpet, or about August 20th.

Pr. 201. Once on a time Sed Bâyû and I
Argued on relationship and ease,
Pilgrimage and light, and reason why
One kind is the best of each of these.

Said I: no light like the light of sun.
Said he: no light like the light of eyes.
Said I: no light like the knowledge won
From illusion with the Self for prize.

Said I: no pilgrimage like the Gang.
Said he: no pilgrimage like the Knees.
Said I: love in ardent worship flung
Is a greater pilgrimage than these.

Said I: none ease giveth like a wife:
Said he: 'tis the blanket giveth most.
Said I: the most blissful ease in life
Cometh to thee when the Lord is Host.

Said I: no relation like a brother.
Said he: no, thy pocket is the best.
Said I: far better than every other
God for relation shall stand thy test.

XLVI

There is a common proverb in Kashmîr: "She came to the shop but arrived at the baker's." It is said of one who misses the mark. But it is connected with Lallâ, and has its origin in a well known story concerning her. In that story it has a very different interpretation, which is represented in the last English verses to be given in this book, based on the story and not found in Lallâ's Sayings.

Lallâ used to peregrinate in a nude or almost nude condition, and constantly said: "He only is a man who fears God, and there are very few such men about." One day Shâh Hamadân, the famous Muslim Saint, Sayyid 'Alî Hamadânî, after whom a great mosque in Srînagar is called, met her and she at once ran away. This was a strange thing for Lallâ to do, but it was soon explained. "I have seen a man," she said to the astonished shopkeeper, into

whose shop she had fled for refuge. The shopkeeper, however, turned her out.

Then Lallâ rushed to the baker's house and jumped into the oven, which at that time was fully heated for baking the bread. When the baker saw this he fell down in a swoon, thinking that, for certain, the King would hear of this and punish him. However, there was no need to fear, as Lallâ presently appeared from the mouth of the oven clad in clothes of gold, and disappeared thence for ever. Some versions of the story say that she hastened after Shâh Hamadân, but this has not much warrant, as though she was friendly with Muslim holy-men she was never seriously affected by Islâm.

The English verse sums up her main doctrine of the importance of securing unison with the Self, the Man that is the Supreme, and relates her ecstatic feelings at the moment of coming out of the baker's oven, mysteriously clad, before she disappeared for ever into Unity with the Supreme, which she had so consistently taught and so earnestly desired.

Pr. 20. Lo! a Vision is before mine eyes,
Framed in a halo of thoughts that burn:
Up into the Heights, lo! I arise
Far above the cries of them that spurn.

Lo! upon the wings of Thought, my steed,
Into the mists of the evening gold,
High, and higher, and higher I speed
Unto the Man, the Self I behold.

Truth hath covered the nude that is I;
Girt me about with a flaming sword;
Clad me in the ethereal sky,
Garment of the glory of the Lord.

CONCORDANCE OF THE VERSES IN THIS EDITION, IN THE *LALLÂ-VÂKYÂNI* AND IN MS. STEIN B[1]

This Edition	Grierson	Stein B
I	3	—
	4	—
II	2	14
	1	15
III	5	29
	6	31
IV	7	5
	8	2
V	10	16
	77	17
	94	—
VI	9	21
	11	36
	30	—
	69	—
VII	12	27
	87	—
	88	—
	13	1
VIII	14	19
	15	20
IX	16	13
	17	7
X	18	23
	21	25
	20	47
	24	—
	23	12
XI	19	—
	22	18
XII	26	—
	25	—
XIII	28	26
	27	8
	29	—
XIV	32	—
	31	—
XV[4]	39	9
	40	10
	34	—
	33	11
XVI	38	—
	35	—
	36	6
	37	—
XVII	42	—
	41	46
	43	—
XVIII	45	—
	64	38
	46	3
XIX	44	—
XX	47	4
	48	—
	49	—
XXI	50	—
	93	—
	105	—
XXII	96	—
	97	—
	Pr. 47	—
XXIII	51	—
	52	33
	53	35
	54	32
	80	34
XXIV	55	—
	56	44
	57	45
XXV[4]	61	22
	65	30
	58	24
	60	—
	59	—
XXVI	60	—
	62	—
XXVII	66	—
	67	—
	68	—
XXVIII[2]	71	—
	70	28
	72	—
XXIX	73	39
	74	40
	75	37
	76	41
XXX[3]	78	—
	79	—
XXXI[5]	81	42
	82	43
XXXII	83	—
	84	—
	85	—
XXXIII	101	—
	89	—
	90	—
	86	—
XXXIV	91	—
	92	—
	Pr. 214	—
XXXV	95	—
XXXVI	96	—
	Pr. 18	—
XXXVII	99	—
	Pr. 46	—
	100	—
XXXVIII	102	—
	103	—
XXXIX	104	—
XL	106	—
	107	—
XLI	108	—
	109	—
XLII	Pr. 150	—
	Pr. 56	—
XLIII	Pr. 57	—
XLIV	Pr. 102	—
XLV	Pr. 201	—
XLVI	Pr. 20	—

[1] There are only 47 quatrains in the MS. Stein B against 109 in Grierson's list, which has besides 10 out of Knowles's *Kashmiri Proverbs*.

[2] Verse No. 71 of Grierson's list is represented at the end of Stein's MS. B by one that has no number affixed to it. Verse No. 28 of Stein representing verse 70 of Grierson is wrongly numbered in Stein's MS. B as No. 19. Similarly Stein's No. 29 corresponding to Grierson's No. 5 (under III) is wrongly numbered as 10 in Stein's MS. B.

[3] Grierson's Nos. 78 and 79 are both represented at the end of Stein MS. B without numbers.

[4] Several of Stein's verses are mixtures of Grierson's verses: *e.g.*, No. 30 Stein = Grierson's 5 and 65; Stein's No. 36 = Grierson's 11 and 1; Stein's 38 = Grierson's 64 and 55.

[5] Stein's 42 and 43 are really variants of one verse, Grierson's 81

GLOSSARY

Abbreviations. P., Philosophy in India generally. Other Philosophies marked thus: B.P., Buddhist; S.P., Śaiva; San. P., Sāṅkhya; T.P. Trika; V.P. Vēdānta; Vai. P., Vaishṇava; Y.P., Yōga; Kāśm. stands for Kāśmīrī language.

All words are in Sanskrit unless marked otherwise.

a, the first letter of the Dēvanāgarī (q.v.) Alphabet, with a mystic meaning in the Yōga Philosophy.

ābhāsa (*ā-bhāsa*), splendour, appearance, manifestation. In S.P., shining out, experiencing out, thinking; physical or mental reproduction. In T.P., growth, expansion, multiplication, reproduction; transcendental evolution; process of manifestation of the universe; process of cosmic expansion.

abhimāna (*abhi-māna*), conceit of self, pride. In P., referring all objects to self as an act of the personality; experiencing or knowing about things.

abhinavagupta (*abhi-nava*, fresh, new + *gupta*), name of a Kāśmīrī philosopher.

abhinivēśa (*abhi-nivēśa*), application, devotion, temerity. In Y.P., clinging to embodied life.

āchāra (*ā-chāra*), conduct, behaviour, established rule of conduct. In T.P., the law of custom, habit.

āchārya (*ā-chārya*), to be approached, waited on, followed; a spiritual guide, teacher; acknowledged religious guide; a title of Śrīvaishṇava Brāhmaṇs.

ādhāra (*ā-dhāra*), a support; receptacle; location. In Y.P., the first of the seven circles (*chakra*, q.v.) in the body. See *mūlâdhāra*.

adhidaivata (*adhi*, above + *daivata*, deity). In Y.P., tutelary deity of living creatures.

adhishṭhātṛidēvatā (*adhi-shṭātṛi*, superintending + *dēvatā*, deity), presiding deity. In T.P. = *tattvēśa*, q.v.

ādibuddha (*ādi* + *buddha*), the original or primitive Buddha. In late Mahāyāna Buddhism, the original Creator; an impersonal God.

advaita (*a-dvi-ta*), non-duality; identity; monism. In P., Monism; the identity of spirit and matter; identity of God and the Universe: introduced by Śaṅkarâcharya (Śaiva) and modified by Rāmânuja (Vaishṇava): pure monism: adj., monist, monistic.

advaitatattva. See *advaita* and *tattva*. In T.P., the principle of unity: a pure and essential monism.

advaitavāda (*a-dvaita* + *vāda*), non-dualist teaching; exposition of non-duality system: monistic doctrine; pure monism.

āgama (*ā-gama*), coming together: collection of doctrine, a religious manual especially of the Śaivas.

āgamaśāstra. See *śāstra*. A treatise on that which has come down, tradition. In T.P., revelation.

aghōrī, modern form from *aghōra* (*a-ghōra*), terrific: name of a Śaiva sect. See *kāpālika*.

agni, fire; the sacrificial fire; the Vēdic god of the fire. In T.P., fire, heat; formativity. In Y.P., identified with *sushumnā*, q.v.

āgyā. See *ājñā*.

ahaṁkāra (*ahaṁ-kāra*), the making of self, sense of self. In P., individuality, the Ego, I, the Self; personality. In T.P., that which builds up the Ego; self-arrogation with appropriation: the Ego, the individual Ego, the Ego in the Being: state of self-possession; subjectivity. In Y.P., the principle of Egoity.

ahaṅkāra. See *ahaṁkāra*.

ahrimān, old Persian, the Evil Spirit. See *angrō-mainyus*.
ahura, old Persian, a Spirit. See *asura*.
ahuramazdā, old Persian (*ahura* + *mazdā*), the Wise Spirit, the Supreme (God) of the Zoroastrians. See *asura*, Hormazd, Ormazd.
airyan, English form; a Persian Aryan.
airyāna, old Persian, the land of the Airyans (Aryans), Irān: Persia.
aiśvarya, lordliness, might. See *īśvara*.
aiśvaryatattva (*aiśvarya* + *tattva*), also *īśvara-tattva*, the true principle of superhuman power or divine faculties. In T.P., identification: the principle of lordliness: general principle of objectivity: lordliness.
ājñā, in Y.P., the sixth circle (*chakra*, q.v.) of the body between the eyebrows: the forehead: the seat of Śiva and of Vishṇu: the throat: the cavernous plexus. See *aksharabīja*.
ākāśa (*ā* + *kāśa*), light: free space: vacuity: ether. In Y.P., the principle of vacuity: nothing.
akbar, Hind. from Ar., greater, greatest: the name of the great Mughal Emperor.
aksharabīja (*a-kshara*, imperishable + *bīja*, seed), imperishable seed. In Y.P., a mystic force situated in the *ājñā* (q.v.) circle.
akula (*a-kula*), a name of Śiva. In Y.P. = *sahasrāra* (q.v.): the Absolute.
al, Ar., the: prefixed to Muhammadan names in the forms *ad, ar, as, ash, an* before words beginning with *d, r, s, sh, n*.
al-Ḥusainī, Ar.-Pers.-Hind., the Ḥusainī: descended from Ḥusain, younger son of 'Alī (q.v.): a title of Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad (q.v.), father of Sayyid 'Alī Hamadānī (q.v.).
'alī, Ar.-Pers.-Hind., high in rank: eminent: noble: name of the son-in-law of Muḥammad (q.v.).
'alī-ṣānī, Ar.-Pers.-Hind. (*'alī* + *ṣānī*, second); 'Alī (q.v.) the Second, a title of Sayyid 'Alī Hamadānī.
ālōchana (*ā-lōchana*), seeing; reflecting; considering: sensation, operation of the senses.
al-thān (Kāśm. *al* + *thān*), the place of wine: wine offered to a god: nectar. In Y.P., the abode of Bliss: the Highest Place: the place of the union of the human Self with the Supreme Self.
amā, the day of the conjunction of the sun and moon; new moon. In Y.P., the sixteenth digit of the moon. See *anā*.
amīda, modern Japanese form of *Amitâbha* (q.v.), and through Amitâbha of Avalōkitêśvara.
amīr, Ar.-Pers.-Hind., commander; governor: lord: chief: a title prefixed to the names of Muhammadan saints.
amīr-kabīr, Ar.-Pers.-Hind. (*amīr* + *kabīr*, great), commander of the faithful: a title of Sayyid 'Alī Hamadānī (q.v.).
amīr-sayyid-'alī, Ar.-Pers. (*amīr* (q.v.) + *sayyid* (q.v.) + *'alī* (q.v.)), the personal name of Sayyid 'Alī Hamadānī (q.v.).
amīr-shamsu'ddīn-'irāḳī, Ar.-Pers. (*amīr* (q.v.) + *shamsu-'l-dīn* (q.v.) + *'irāḳī*, see *'irāḳ*), the name of a Muhammadan saint buried in the Zadi Bal quarter of Śrīnagar. See Shamsu'ddīn.
amīr-sultān-shamsu'ddīn, Ar.-Pers. (*amīr* (q.v.) + *sultān* (q.v.) + *shamsu-'l-dīn*, q.v.); the name of a Naḳshbandī (q.v.) saint. See Shamsu'ddīn.
amitâbha (*amita* + *ābha*), boundless splendour: measureless light: a Buddha in Northern Buddhism: the present Dhyāni Buddha (q.v.): separated from Avalōkitêśvara (q.v.).
amitraghāta (*amitra* + *ghāta*), enemy-slayer: a name of Bindusāra, the second Maurya Emperor.

anā: in Y.P., the sixteenth digit of the moon. See *amā*.
anāhata (*an* + *āhata*), unbeaten; intact. In Y.P., the fourth circle (*chakra*, q.v.) of the body: the heart; the cardiac plexus.
anāhatadhvani (*an-āhata* (q.v.) + *dhvani*, sound): in Y.P., the mystic Sound in the body. See *ōm*.
anāhatarav (*anāhata* + *rav*), Kāśm. form of Sanskrit *anāhata-rava*. (See *anāhatadhvani*.) See *ōm*.
ānanda (*ā-nanda*), happiness, joy. In T.P., abstract joy, realisation of being at rest without effort: one of the five primary aspects of Śakti (q.v.).
ānand-kaul (*ānanda* + *kaula*); modern form: name of Kāśmīrī writer on Lallā.
anātman (*an* + *ātman*), the non-self, non-soul: the Somewhat.
āṇava, exceeding fineness. In the Śaiva Siddhānta one of the forces binding the Soul.
āṇavôpāya (*āṇava* + *upāya*), approaching, means of success in reaching (*upāya*) the infinitesimal (*āṇava*): the process or method of realising that the universe is an aggregate of atoms (*aṇu*): a particular practice of the Kāśmīrī Śaiva *yōgīs*. In T.P., getting rid of the atoms from the soul.
aṅga, a limb, a member of the body: a member of the body of the Jain Scripture; a Jain Scripture; the Jain Scriptures. In Y.P., an ascetic exercise.
aṅgrō-mainyus (*aṅgrō-mainyus*), old Persian, the Evil Spirit. See *ahrimān*.
antaḥkaraṇa (*antar* + *karaṇa*), the internal or spiritual part of a man; the seat of thought; the mind. In T.P., the inner organ containing the capacity for mental operation.
aṇu, a point. In T.P., a non-spatial point: one of the principles: the limited individual soul: a creature of Śiva: a non-spatial entity: the ultimate atom.
anunāsika (*anu-nāsika*), uttered through the nose; nasal: the sign of nasalisation of vowels in writing.
āp, water. In T.P., liquidity; moisture.
apâna (*apa* + *āna*), breathing out, expiration. In Y.P., breathing going downwards and out of the anus: the inward breath: one of the two principal airs of the body. See *prâṇa*.
āpastamba, name of an ancient writer on ritual.
apnē, Hind., of or belonging to self: own.
apūrvanirvāṇaśakti (*a* + *pūrva*, unprecedented, quite new, and *nir-vāṇa*, eternal bliss + *śakti*, female energy). In Y.P., the creator of the three-fold World; the dispenser of the Knowledge of Brahma; the life of all creatures = the seat of Śiva.
āraṇyaka, forest-born. In P., an extension of a *Brāhmaṇa* (q.v.), originally for the use of hermits or forest ascetics, and as such a revealed Scripture, a part of the Hindu Canon.
ardhâṅgi (*ardha*, half + *aṅgi*, body, that which has limbs), half and half. In Y.P., the consortium of Śiva and Śakti in the *ājñā* (q.v.) circle.
arhat, deserving, venerable: the highest rank in the Buddhist hierarchy.
ārya, honourable: a man of one's race: an immigrant into India by the West and North: an Aryan: the Airyan of Persia.
ārya-samāj, a modern form: the Aryan Society, a modern Community or Church in the Panjāb.
āryâvarta (*ārya-āvarta*), the home or land of the Āryas: the land of the Hindus; Hindustān.

asamprajñāta (*a-sam-pra-jñāta*), undiscerned: not known accurately. In Y.P., stillness.

āsana, sitting down. In Y.P., a suitable mode of sitting during meditation.

asaṅga (*a* + *saṅga*), unattached, solitary: the name of the chief writer of the Vijñānavāda (Buddhist) (q.v.) Philosophy.

ashṭâṅga (*ashṭa* + *aṅga*), eight members. In Y.P., the eight ascetic exercises.

asi, a sword: a knot. In Y.P., a name for Piṅgalā, q.v.

asmitā (*asmi*, I am + *tā*), egoism.

aśōka (*a* + *śōka*), without sorrow: not causing sorrow: title of Aśōka, the Maurya Emperor and champion of Buddhism.

aśuddhâdhvan (*a* + *śuddha* + *adhvan*), the impure way: the inaccurate path.

asura, breathing, alive: a spirit: an evil spirit. The *ahura* (q.v.) of the Zoroastrians.

atharvavēda (*atharva* + *vēda*) science of magic as opposed to orthodox ritual: a collection of formulæ to prevent mistakes at sacrifices: science of incantations: one of the early revealed Scriptures of the Hindus.

āthravan, old Persian, fire-kindlers: fire-kindling priests of the Zoroastrians: the precursors of the Magi.

ātman, breath: that which breathes and lives: the spirit, the soul. In P., the Self; the Soul: identified with Brahman (q.v.): the Supreme Self; the Eternal: ability or power to experience; the experiencing principle. In V.P., the Self or Soul = Brahman (q.v.). In T.P., the universal unlimited Self or Soul.

avakāśa (*ava* + *kāśa*), a glance cast on anything: a place: space, open space. In T.P., the Wide: empty space.

avalōkitêśvara (*ava* + *lōkita* + *īśvara*), the Lord who looks down (with compassion); the Compassionate; the chief Bōdhisattva (q.v.) in Northern Buddhism: sometimes confused with Amitâbha, but not always: a Dhyāni Bōdhisattva (q.v.).

avatāra (*ava-tāra*), descent (from heaven); an incarnation.

avidyā (*a* + *vidyā*), ignorance. In Y.P. primal ignorance. In Śaiva Siddhānta, one of the forces binding the Soul.

bābā, Pers.-Hind., father; grandfather: old man: head of an Order of Muhammadan saints: a title prefixed to the name of Muhammadan saints.

bābā-nāṣiru'ddīn, Pers.-Ar. (*bābā* (q.v.) + *nāṣiru-'l-dīn*, defender of the faith), the name of a lieutenant of Shēkh Nūru'ddīn (q.v.). See Nāṣir.

bādāmi, modern form of *vātāpi* (q.v.).

badarīnātha (*badarī* + *nātha*), the name of the temple at Badarīnātha or Badrīnāth.

bādarpet, Kāśm., the name of the Hindu month of September-August in Kaśmīr.

baghdād, Pers., the name of a city in Mesopotamia, once in Persia.

bahāu'ddīnnakshband. See Khwāja Muḥammad Bahāu'ddīn Nakshband.

bāṇaliṅga (*bāṇa* or *vāṇa*, in one sense, fire, + *liṅga*); fire. In Y.P., a flame in the body.

bāramūla, name of a town in Kaśmīr.

basiyē, Hind., dwell ye: abide ye.

bhagavadgītā (*bhagavat* + *gītā*), Song of the Adorable, containing the doctrine declared by the Adorable, Bhagavat, in this case Kṛishṇa (q.v.): the trend of its teaching.

bhagavān, nominative case of Bhagavat, (q.v.).

bhagavat (*bhaga*, portion, wealth, favour + *vat*), patron, holy, divine person: the Lord, the Holy One, the Adorable, God: title of Vishṇu (q.v.), of Kṛishṇa (q.v.).

bhāgavata, one who worships Bhagavat (q.v.), the Adorable God: a Bhāgavata: a monotheistic religion, absorbed into Vaishṇavism and affecting Śaivism: a doctrine.

bhāgavatapurāṇa (*bhāgavata-purāṇa*), traditional history of Vishṇu as Bhagavat (q.v.): of Kṛishṇa as Bhagavat: important to Indian Philosophy and Religion, under Ṣūfī influence. See *bhagavat*, *bhāgavata*.

bhagawān, *bhagwān*, modern forms. See *bhagavān*.

bhakta, the faithful: a faithful adherent: name of a Vaishṇava sect in the Western Deccan. See *bhakti*.

bhakti, an assignment: a division: being part of, or belonging to, an attribute: devotion, attachment: faith. In P., devotional faith: mediæval doctrine of faith; salvation by faith and devotion; adoration: faith combined with love and adoration.

bhaktimārga (*bhakti* + *mārga*), the path of devotional faith: the religion of the Bhāgavatas (q.v.).

bharata, an ancient Indian Aryan tribe.

bhārat-dharma-mahāmaṇḍal (*bhārata* + *dharma* + *mahāmaṇḍala*), the great Society of Bhārata (Ancient Aryan India or Hindūstān) usage: a modern reformed Community or Church in Bihār.

bhāshya, an explanation; explanatory work, commentary.

bhāskara, name of a Kāśmīrī philosopher.

bhavānī, fem. form of Bhava, existence: spouse of Śiva, goddess of amiability.

bhēda, division: distinction.

bhēdâbhēda (*bhēda* + *a-bhēda*) disagreement plus non-disagreement: dualism plus non-dualism: identity with difference. In P., compromise between Dualism and Monism. In T.P., realisation of diversity in unity.

bhūta, that which exists; a being: a spirit, ghost: an element, a gross element. In T.P., that which has been: a factor of materiality: one of the five physical Orders; a physical factor: one of the five principles of experience: a physical stage of evolution realised.

bīja, a seed. In Y.P., the seed of Being.

bijbihāra, name of a town in Kaśmīr.

bikram (usually Rājā Bikram), modern syncopated form of the name Vikramâditya (q.v.) the Gupta Emperor.

bin (= *ibn*), Ar.: a son.

bindrāban, a corruption by metathesis of Brindāban. See *vṛindāvana*.

bindusāra (also *vindusāra*), the second emperor of the Maurya dynasty.

bīrbal, Hind. (*bīr*, heroic + *bal*, strength): name of the great minister of the Emperor Akbar (q.v.).

bōdhisattva (*bōdhi* + *sattva*), endowed with pure knowledge by intuition; naturally wise and good. In B.P., entitled or destined to become a Buddha. In later Buddhist teaching, a god who refrains from attaining *nirvāṇa* (q.v.) and remains on earth to help the seeker after Release: an attendant on a Buddha in Mahāyāna Buddhism. See Dhyāni Bōdhisattva.

brāhma, belonging or relating to the Brāhmaṇs, especially to one of the ancient type: the ancient Hinduism: Brāhmaism.

brahmā, the Supreme personified: later the Creator in the Hindu Triad (see *trimūrti*): identified with the Absolute (see *brahman*); with Para Śiva (q.v.); with Purusha (q.v.).

brahmadvāra (*brahma* + *dvāra*), the door of Brahman. In Y.P., the spot at the lower end of Sushumnā (q.v.) where the knots (*granthi*, q.v.) are.
brahmagranthi (*brahma* + *granthi*). In Y.P., the knot (*granthi*, q.v.) in the Anāhata (q.v.) Circle: the knot of Brahmā.
brahman, religious devotion, prayer; a sacred text, a spell; the sacred word, sacred knowledge: the impersonal Supreme, the Self-existent, the Eternal, the Absolute, the Supreme Deity. In P., the universal essence in all things: religious truth: the Absolute, the Supreme Intelligence, the personal Supreme: identified with Vishṇu (q.v.): the male aspect of Śiva. In V.P., the Absolute = *ātman*, q.v.; = *chit*, q.v.; the Supreme: Truth. In Vai. P., the Supreme Reality.
brāhmaṇ (properly *brāhmaṇa*), one possessed of divine knowledge (see *brahman*): a priest: a member of the priestly class of the Aryan Hindus: a member of the Brāhmaṇ Caste: a Brāhmaṇ.
brāhmaṇa, that which contains divine knowledge (see *brahman*): professional explanation of a Vedic text by an ancient Brāhmaṇ: a revealed treatise explanatory of a Vedic text: a lecture by a Brāhmaṇ: a revealed Scripture: originally a revealed oral explanation of a Vedic text.
brahmanāḍī (*brahma* + *nāḍī*), the vein of Brahmā. In Y.P., a subtile duct inside Chitriṇī (q.v.).
brahman-ātman (*brahman* + *ātman*). In P., the essential identity of the Absolute (Brahman, q.v.) with the individual Self or Soul (*ātman*, q.v.): the Absolute combined with the Self: the All combined with the One.
brahmapada (*brahma* + *pada*), the place of Brahman. In Y.P., the Void.
brahmarandhra (*brahma* + *randhra*), the suture or vent of Brahman: the aperture in the head through which the soul escapes. In Y.P., a hollow above the base of the palate: the top of the Sushumnā (q.v.): the top of the Chitra (q.v.): the central canal of the spinal cord: the anterior fontanelle.
brāhma-samāj, modern form, Brāhma Society: a modern reformed Community or Church in Bengal.
brahmasampradāya (*brahma* + *sam-pra-dāya*, q.v.), the Church or Community of Brahmā (q.v.).
brahma-tattvēśa (*brahma* + *tattva-īśa*), the Lord of the true principle of Brahman.
brindāban, modern form of Vṛindāvana (q.v.).
buddha, wise, enlightened: intuitive knower: title of the founder of Buddhism, the Buddha, who is however usually called simply Buddha: an incarnation of Vishṇu. In Mahāyāna Buddhism, a god (see Ādi, Dhyāni and Mānusha Buddha). In late Mahāyāna Buddhism degraded from a Mānusha Buddha to the son of Avalōkitēśvara (q.v.).
buddhi, perception, intelligence, intellect, knowledge, discernment. In T.P., intuition, judgment; abstract knowledge: impersonal (superpersonal) state of consciousness or experience: subconsciousness, knowledge, intuition: experience of mere existence: memory of past experiences: thought of self: intuitive judgment; unacquired inherent knowledge or intention. In Y.P., the material principle of the finite universe. See *mahat*.
buddhîndriya (*buddhi* + *indriya*, q.v.), power or sense of perception: organ of sense. In T.P., capacity for sense of perception: one of the Five Senses: one of the Five Capacities: receptive capacity.
bukhārā, Pers., name of a town in Central Asia.
butshikan, Pers. (*but*, image; idol + *shikan*, breaking), idol breaker; iconoclast; nickname of Sultan Sikandar (q.v.) of Kaśmīr.

carnatic. See *karnāṭaka*.
chaitanya (derivative from *chētana* derived from *chit*, q.v.), mental perception: consciousness; sensation: spirit: Soul: the Deity as the essence of all being and source of all sensation: experiencing principle: name of a Vaishṇava reformer. In T.P., the experiencing principle: active mental perception: sensation: consciousness: the soul as an experiencing being; experiencer. In Y.P., the Spirit.
chakra, wheel of a carriage: a circle. In P., a ganglion of nerves. In Y.P., a mystical circle in the body.
chālukya, a Rājpūt (q.v.) dynasty in Western India.
chamār, Hind.: a leather dresser: a member of the Chamār caste.
chaṇḍī, violent: a name of the goddess Durgā (q.v.).
chaṇḍī-dās (*chaṇḍī* + *dās*), modern form, servant of Chaṇḍī (q.v.) or Durgā (q.v.); name of a Vaishṇava poet of Bengâl.
chandragupta (*chandra* + *gupta*), moon-protected: the first Emperor of the Maurya Dynasty: the first Emperor of the Gupta Dynasty.
chaturmukha (*chatur* + *mukha*), four-faced: an epithet of Brahmā.
chaurī, Hind., the bushy tail of the yak, *bos grunniens*: fly-flap, fly-whisk, a chowry.
chichchhakti (*chit* + *śakti*), mental capacity. In Y.P., Śakti (q.v.).
chinmātra (*chit* + *mātra*), pure intelligence. In T.P., the light of intelligence: spirit: = Śiva (q.v.).
chit, to perceive: intelligence, intellect, thought, mind: soul: spirit: heart. See *chaitanya*. In T.P., the experiencing principle: the power of experiencing; perception; intelligence; thought: soul in the abstract: abstract intelligence; self-produced revelation: self-revealed revelation by pure light of intelligence: = *śakti* (q.v.). In V.P., abstract thought: = *brahman* (q.v.). In Y.P., one of the five primary aspects of *śakti*.
chitrā, perceptible, excellent, striking. In Y.P., a *nāḍī* (q.v.) inside Sushumnā (q.v.): the grey matter in the spinal cord.
chitriṇī, containing wonders, wonderful. In Y.P., a *nāḍī* (q.v.) inside Vajra (q.v.).
chitta, thinking: thought: the mental organism: mind.
chittavṛitti (*chitta* + *vṛitti*), activity of mind; feeling; emotion; thinking. In Y.P., the material organ of Thought.
chowry. See *chaurī*.
conjeeveram. See *kāñchīpuram*.

dādū, a gift: a modern form of nomenclature; name of a mediæval reformer.
dādūpanthī (*dādū*, q.v., + *panthī*), a modern form; a student of Dādū: a member of the sect of Dādū.
daēva, a demon in Zoroastrianism: ancient Persian form of *dēva* (q.v.).
dah, Kāśm., a lake, and also ten. Lallā plays upon the double meaning.
dakshiṇa, the right-hand side: the country on the right-hand side; the Dakhin, Dakhan, Deccan.
dakshiṇâchārī (*dakshiṇa*, right-hand + *āchārī*, a follower of ritual): a member of the Right-hand or Pure Sect of the Śāktas (q.v.).
dam-dyunu (Kāśm., *dam*, breath + *dyunu*, to give), to give breath as to a bellows: to give forth breath by crying out: to control the breath. Lallā plays upon the three senses of the word.
darśana, seeing, inspiration, examination, exhibition: view, theory, philosophy.

darśanêndriya (*darśana* + *indriya*, q.v.), power and sense of seeing. In T.P., sight.
darvēsh, Pers., poor, indigent: a religious mendicant: a saint.
dāsa, in Vēdas (q.v.), evil being: savage opponent of the Aryans: slave: servant, follower. In P., a worshipper.
dattâtrēya (*datta* + *ātrēya*), originally the name of a sage: adopted as an incarnation of Kṛishṇa (as Vishṇu) by the Mānbhāus (q.v.) to be one of the Triad (*Trimūrti*, q.v.) in place of Śiva: the God of the Mānbhāus.
day, Kāśm., God, the Supreme Being.
dervish. See *darvēsh*.
dēśa, a place pointed out. In T.P., relativity of positions.
dēva, that which shines forth; divine: a god, deity: =*daeva* (q.v.), demon of the Zoroastrians: a minor god.
dēvanāgarī (*dēva* + *nāgarī*), the script of the city, or of the holy or divine city: a script in which Sanskrit is conveyed. In Y.P., it is contained in the Sahasrâra (q.v.).
dēvatā, the nature of a god: a deity, a minor god, godling.
dēvī, a goddess: the Goddess, Durgā (q.v.): =Śakti (q.v.), identified with Brahman, the Absolute. In Y.P., the spouse of Brahman.
dhāraṇa, holding, sustaining, keeping: keeping in remembrance. In Y.P., fixation of thought by pinning it to an object.
dhāraṇī, holding and protecting, holding the breath, restraining the body: anything that holds: a tubular vessel of the body. In later B.P., a mystical charm, a spell.
dharma, that which is to be held fast; the law: customary observance: rule of conduct: ordinance: custom.
dharma-dāsa-darvēsh (*dharma* + *dāsa* + *darvēsh*), slave of duty + ascetic: mixed Sanskrit and Persian personal name: name of a Brāhmaṇ in Kaśmīr living at Gush (q.v.).
dharmaśāstra (*dharma* + *śāstra*), treatise on the rules of religion.
dhyāna, meditation, religious contemplation: power resulting therefrom: divine power. In Y.P., positive fixation of thought: meditation.
dhyānibōdhisattva, in late Mahāyāna Buddhism an incorporeal Bōdhisattva (q.v.), the son of a Dhyāni Buddha (q.v.): =Avalōkitêśvara (q.v.).
dhyānibuddha; in late Mahāyāna Buddhism a spiritual incorporeal Buddha, created by the power of contemplation by the Adi Buddha (q.v.): =Amitâbha (q.v.).
digambara (*dik* + *ambara*, sky-clad), clad only by the sky, stark naked: the Digambara sect of the Jains (see Śvētâmbara) who go stark naked.
dik, a direction pointed out: a point of the compass: the sky.
dīkshā, preparation or consecration for a religious ceremony: initiation.
diśaḥ, directions (plur. of *dik*, q.v.). In P., direction in ether. In T.P., direction in the Wide or Empty Space: lines of ethereal energy.
dōhā, Hind., a rhyming couplet; a distich: a verse in Indian quantitative poetry in a particular metre.
draviḍa, the Southern non-Aryan people of India: a Dravidian; a Tamiḷ.
drupada (*dru* + *pada*, a post of wood; a pillar), name of the father of Kṛishṇā or Draupadī, wife of the Pāṇḍavas (q.v.).
duḥkha, passion, active pain: pain.
durgā (*dus-gā*), difficult of access, inaccessible, implacable: the goddess Durgā: the spouse of Śiva in her terrific irascible form: a form of Śakti (q.v.): chaste virgin, huntress = Diana: sister of Kṛishṇa; connected with Vaishṇavism through Kṛishṇa: connected with Śaivism: =Umā (q.v.): one of the Five Gods.

durgāpūjā (*durgā* + *pūjā*), worship of Durgā: an autumn festival in Calcutta.
dvaita (*dvi-ta*), dual. In P., the Dual Principle, Duality: Spirit and matter; God *and* the Universe: Self or Soul *and* the Supreme: Dualism.
dvaitâdvaita (*dvaita* + *a-dvaita*), dualistic non-dualism: dualistic monism.
dvēsha, hate.

ēkâgratā-pariṇāma (*ēka* + *agra-tā*, intentness on one object + *pari-nāma*, change, alteration; end, close, last stage): in Y.P., combination of arrest of the power of thought and cognition of a single object of perception only.
ēṣaṇa, desire, eager desire. See *uśana*.

gām, Hind., a village; hamlet.
gandha, odour.
gandhatanmātra (*gandha* + *tan-mātra*) element of odour: in T.P., odour.
gaṇēśa (*gaṇa* + *īśa*), lord of the troops: the chief of the subordinate gods about Śiva: the elephant-headed god of beginnings: one of the Five Gods.
gaṅg. See *gaṅgā*: pronounced *gung*.
gaṅgā. See *gaṅgābal*: it does not always have its usual signification "the Ganges" in Lallā's verse.
gaṅgābal, Kāśm., the name of a sacred lake in Kaśmīr.
gātha, old Persian: song, hymn (cf. Sanskrit, *gāthā*).
gauḍapāda (*gauḍa* + *pāda*), the venerable Gauḍa: a commentator on the Upanishads (q.v.) and predecessor of Śaṅkarâchārya (q.v.).
gautama, belonging to the family of Gōtama (q.v.): the family name of the Buddha, often treated as his personal name.
gāyatrī, *the* hymn (Vedic), addressed morning and evening to Savitṛi, the Sun, as the generator.
ghrāṇa, smell, odour.
ghrāṇêndriya (*ghrāṇa* + *indriya*, q.v.), power or sense of smell. In T.P., smell.
gītā, *the* Song: the Bhagavadgītā (q.v.) is often referred to under this term. See *gītagōvinda*.
gītagōvinda, an erotic song about Gōvinda or Kṛishṇa. See Gōvinda.
gōpī, cowherdess, especially in connection with the legend of Kṛishṇa.
gōrakhnāth, modern form of *gōrakshanātha* (q.v.), a celebrated North Indian Śaiva ascetic of the thirteenth century A.D.
gōrakhnāthī, follower of *gōrakhnāth* (q.v.).
gōrakshanātha (*gō* + *raksha* + *nātha*), Lord of the Keepers of Cows, an epithet and name of Śiva.
gōsāin, modern form of *gōsvāmi*, master of cows, of a herd. In P., master of the organs of sense: a devotee.
gōvinda (*gō* + *vinda*), a cowherd: a title of Kṛishṇa.
granth-ṣāḥib, a modern mixed Hindu and Muslim form: (*granth*, that which is bound together, a book, and Ar. *ṣāḥib*, noble), the Noble Book, the Scripture of the Sikhs: treated as the Guru (q.v.), the spiritual leader of the Sikhs (disciples), who is worshipped.
granthi, a knot, knot of cord. In Y.P., the knot binding the veins.
gūjar. See *gurjara*.
guṇa, an ingredient: thread: feature: factor. In Y.P., a mode of matter.
gupta, protected; the patronymic of the Imperial Gupta Dynasty.

gurjara, a Gūjar, an inhabitant of Gujarāt.
gurkhā, a modern name for a race of the Himālayas (q.v.) in Nēpāl.
guru, weighty; dear, beloved; best, venerable: parent: spiritual teacher or preceptor who invests the candidate for initiation with the sacred thread: religious teacher: sectarian teacher.
gush, name of a village in Kaśmīr.
gyāna, and all words beginning with or containing *gyāna*. See *jñāna*.

ha, Kāśm., Oh, O.
ḥāfiẓ-abru, Ar.-Pers. (*ḥāfiẓ*, one who knows the *Ḳur'ān* by heart + *abru*, an eyebrow, brow), a poetical title. See Nūru'ddīn.
hah, Kāśm., cold breath as it comes from the mouth: a short abrupt expiration. See *hāh*.
hāh, Kāśm., hot breath as it comes from the mouth: a prolonged expiration. See *hah*.
hamadān, Pers., name of a town in Persia.
hamāl, Ar.-Kāśm., a porter, burden-bearer.
hamāli, Kāśm. (See *hamāl*), voc. O burden-bearer: capable of being read as *ha māli*, O father. Lallā plays upon this fact.
haṁsaḥ, *haṁsa*, a goose, a swan. See *sō'ham*. *Haṁsa* is used to imply the Supreme Śiva, the individual soul, and *ōm* (q.v.).
haṁsasthāna (*haṅsa* + *sthāna*), Swan's Home. In Y.P., the revelation of salvation.
hāṅ-jī (*hāṅ* + *jī*), Hind., yes, sir.
hanumān (*hanu-mān*), heavy-jowled, a monkey: a member of a savage or monkey tribe.
haōma, ancient Persian, the Zoroastrian god of strong drink. See *sōma*.
har, a modern form of *hara* (q.v.).
hara, the seizer: a name for Śiva: the personal form of the impersonal Supreme: Śiva as the Destroyer of sin, sorrow, misfortune and stumblingblocks against salvation.
haramukh, the name of a mountain in Kaśmīr.
harihara (*hari* + *hara*). *Hari*, green, yellow; a name of Vishṇu, probably as the Sun-god, the Preserver: *hara*, robber, destroyer; a name of Śiva. *Harihara* as a god is Vishṇu and Śiva combined. *Hari* by itself as the name of a deity is of confused sense and has been applied to Vishṇu and to Kṛishṇa as Vishṇu, and also to Śiva, Brahmā, Indra and Yama.
har-na-atē or *hār-na-atē*, Kāśm. expression: (1) means that Hara (q.v.) was not there: (2) means that a cowry was not there. Lallā plays on the double meaning here and gives it the esoteric sense.
harsha. See *harshavardhana*.
harshavardhana (*harsha* + *vardhana*), joy-promoter (*harsha*, bristling: thrilling: joy): name of a Northern Indian Hindu Emperor.
hasta, the hand.
hastēndriya (*hasta* + *indriya*, q.v.), the power and sense of the hand. In T.P., handling.
haṭhayōga (*haṭha* + *yōga*), violent *yōga* (q.v.): an extreme *yōga* practice, standing on one leg, holding up an arm, and so on.
herāt, Pers., name of a city in Afghānistān.
hiliyē, Hind., be ye familiar: greet ye.
himālaya (*hima*, cold, snow + *ālaya*, abode), the abode of snow; the Himālayan Mountains.

hīnayāna (*hīna-yāna*), the lesser or humbler vehicle; the older and purer form of Buddhism.
hindu, *hindū*, a Pers. form of the Sanskrit *sindhu*: a Hindu.
hormazd, old Persian: see *ahuramazdā*, *ormazd*.
hum, an imitative sound: a mystic syllable used in charms and incantations. In Y.P., a mystic syllable.
hūṇa, a Hun.

ichchhā, wish, desire, inclination. In K.P., will; irresistible will to create; one of the five primary aspects of Śakti (q.v.): self-realisation of ability to act: will to act.
iḍā, a refreshing draught: a libation to the gods: prayer. In Y.P., one of the three principal *nāḍīs* (q.v.): identified with the moon, with the Ganges, with Benares: the left sympathetic cord.
indriya, belonging to Indra; power as especially belonging to Indra: power of the senses: faculty of sense: organ of sense: sense. In T.P., intuitive knowledge: power: capacity both of sense-perception and action: nerve-power: sense capacity.
'irāḳ, Pers., the modern Mesopotamia.
īrān, Persia = Airyāna (q.v.), the land of the Airyans or Aryans.
īśāna, owning: reigning: ruler, master: old name for Śiva.
īśvara, capable, possessing: lord, master. In P., the personal Supreme, the Lord, God: conceived as the All combined with the One. See *brahman-ātman*.
itara (*i-tara*), another. In Y.P., the seat of Śiva in the *ājñā* (q.v.) circle.

jagaddēva (*jagat* + *dēva*), god of the earth: the name of an Indian folktale hero.
jain, modern vernacular form of *jaina* (q.v.).
jaina, belonging to the sect or religion of the Jina: a Jain.
janēū, modern term for the thread worn by the three "twice-born" castes: the sacred thread: the Brahmanical thread. See *upavīta*.
jaṅgama, a living being: name of a Liṅgayat (q.v.) priestly caste in South Western India.
jātaka, born; nativity. In B.P., a former birth of the Buddha: a legendary life of the Buddha.
jin, Kāśm., *jina* (q.v.) or *jinn* (q.v.).
jina, winner: victorious: overcoming all things: title of Mahāvīra (q.v.), the founder of Jainism.
jinn, Arab., a spirit: one of the Genii.
jīva, the principle of life: life.
jīvātman (*jīva* + *ātman*), the living or individual soul enshrined in the human body. In Y.P., the individual soul.
jñāna, knowledge. In P., conscious knowledge. In T.P., abstract knowledge, consciousness: one of the five primary aspects of Śakti (q.v.); limited consciousness or knowledge; knowledge: acquired knowledge.
jñānamārga (*jñāna* + *mārga*), the path of conscious knowledge, of religious knowledge.
jñānēndriya (*jñāna* + *indriya*), the power or sense of knowing. In T.P., one of the five capacities of sense-perception: sense-capacity: receptive sense-capacity: conscious senses.
jōg, modern vernacular form of *yōga* (q.v.).
jōgaṇ, also *jōgiṇ*, modern vernacular form of *yōginī* (q.v.).
jōgī, modern vernacular form of *yōgī* (q.v.).
jvalana, combustion.

kabīr, Ar.-Pers.-Hind., great: the name of the great mediæval reformer.
kahiyē, Hind., say ye!
kailāsa, one of the great Himâlayan mountains: home of Śiva. In Y.P., situated in the Sahasrâra (q.v.) Circle.
kaivalya (through *kēvala*, alone), perfect isolation: union with the Supreme: emancipation, release from the world: eternal happiness. In Y.P., transformation: isolation.
kāla, counting: a fixed point of time, time: duration. In T.P., limited coevality: limited duration of time: the determinant of "when."
kalā, art. In T.P., limited power of creation: authorship, limited authorship: art: creative power.
kālakūṭa (*kāla* + *kūṭa*), the poison from the ocean-depths that turned Śiva's throat dark blue when he swallowed it: a deadly poison.
kālī, black, darkened: a name for the goddess Durgā (q.v.).
kallaṭa-bhaṭṭa (*kallaṭa* + *bhaṭṭa*), Doctor Kallaṭa: name of a Kāśmīrī philosopher.
kalpa, a fashioning: natural law: orthodox ritual procedure. In P., alternation between manifestation of development of an universe and manifestation of another universe; time taken by such manifestation; a cycle; an age. In T.P., ordered alternation in point of time. In Y.P., a "day" of Brahmā (q.v.) = 432 millions of years.
kāma, wish: desire: love. In Y.P., the Spirit of Love.
kaṇâda (*kaṇa* + *ada*), grain (atom) -eater; the nickname of the author of the Vaiśēshika (q.v.) Philosophy or Atomic Theory.
kanauj, modern Hindī form of Kanyākubja, round-backed virgin, from a legend: an ancient Hindu city in the modern Farrukhābād District in Northern India.
kāñchī. See *kāñchīpuram*.
kāñchīpuram (*kāñchī* + *puram*), Conjeeveram, a sacred city in South India (q.v.).
kañchuka, a sheath. In T.P., the sheath of *purusha* (q.v.), the soul: the individual Soul: one of the six limitations of the soul or self: sheath, veil, principle of limitation.
kanda, a bulbous root: a bulb. In Y.P., the bulb between the navel and the groin into which the veins and arteries debouch.
kandarpa. (*kam*, love + *darpa*, pride, or *ka*, the unknown, a chief god + *darpa*, pride), a name of Kāma, the god of love. In Y.P., a wind in the human body: = Kāma (q.v.).
kānphaṭa (*kān* + *phaṭa*), a modern form: split-eared: a sect of Śaivas; *yōgīs* (q.v.), who slit the ears. See Gōrakshanātha.
kāpālika, belonging to a skull (*kapāla*): a member of a Left-hand Śaiva Śakta (q.v.) sect of devotees: skull-men, who carry skulls as ornaments or drinking-cups.
karma, action; any act: religious act: action or act in a former life: the result of action in a former life: work of religious merit: works. In Y.P., the works of the soul. In Śaiva Siddhānta, the influence of former works.
karmamārga (*karma* + *mārga*), path of works and duty.
karmamīmāṁsā (*karma* + *mīmāṁsā*), enquiry into the doctrine of works: the Philosophy of Works: exegesis of the Vēda.
karmayōga (*karma* + *yōga*), work-restraint; performance of duty under the restraint of no-desire: performance of duty for duty's sake.

karmēndriya (*karma* + *indriya*, q.v.), the power or sense of action. In T.P., capacity for action, activity: one of the five capacities or powers: motor capacity; motor sense of power: power of action.
karnāṭaka, the Carnatic country of Southern India.
kārshṇa, belonging to Kṛishṇa (q.v.), Krishnaite.
kārttikēya, reared by the Kṛittikās or Pleiades; a name of Skanda (q.v.), the god of war, son of Śiva and Pārvatī (q.v.).
kaśmīr, modern form of Sanskrit Kaśmīra: Kashmīr.
kāśmīrī, of or belonging to Kaśmīr (q.v.).
kaunsar, Kāśm., name of a lake in Kaśmīr.
kēśava, having long, much, or handsome hair: long-haired: an epithet of Vishṇu: Vishṇu.
khalīfa, Ar.-Pers.-Hind., a successor: the successor of a saint: a saint's lieutenant.
khānpūr, Kāśm. (*khān*, master: owner: lord + *pūr*, a town), the name of a town near Śrīnagar.
khuttilān, name of a town in Persia where Sayyid 'Alī Hamadānī (q.v.) died.
khwāja, Pers., lord; master: a distinguished man: a title prefixed to the names of Muhammadan saints.
khwāja-muhammad-bahāu'-ddīn-nakshband, Pers.-Ar. (*khwāja* (q.v.) + *muhammad* (q.v.) + *bahāu-'l-dīn*, splendour of the faith + *nakshband* (q.v.)): the name of the founder of the Nakshbandīs (q.v.).
khwāja-mu'īnu'ddīn-nakshbandī, Pers.-Ar. (*khwāja*, q.v., + *mu'īnu-'l-dīn*, helper of the faith + *nakshbandī*, q.v.): a Nakshbandī (q.v.) saint believed by the Kāśmīrī Nakshbandīs to be their founder: son-in-law of the Mughal Emperor Shāh Jahān.
kishn, popular modern form of Kṛishṇa (q.v.).
klēśa, pain, distress, affliction. In Y.P., one of the five moral functions.
kōsala, the modern Oudh, the home of Rāma (Rāmachandra) (q.v.).
kṛishṇa, dark, black: the name of the founder of Bhāgavatism (Kṛishṇa, Vāsudēva, q.v.), afterwards identified with a legendary hero (Kṛishṇa), deified and ultimately identified with Vishṇu (q.v.), and through him with the Adorable God: the god Kṛishṇa: the Adorable: God. Identified also with Brahma, the Absolute; with Bhagavān (q.v.): an incarnation of Vishṇu. Has special place among the Mānbhāus, and in mediæval Hindu doctrine.
kriyā, doing, performing: action, activity. In T.P., creative power, assumption of form: the principle of creative power: one of the five primary aspects of Śakti (q.v.): power of assumption of any form.
ksha, the fiftieth letter of the Dēvanāgarī (q.v.) Alphabet, used with a mystic meaning in the Y.P.
kshatrapavan, old Persian: origin of the Greek Satrapos: Lord of the Land, Viceroy, Satrap.
kshatriya, the governing power: a member of the military order or class of the Aryan Hindus: a member of the Kshatriya Caste, which had a special status in Southern India.
kshōbha, disturbance.
kulaparamparâchārakrama (*kula*, family + *param-parā*, succession + *āchāra*, precept + *krama* arrangement), family tradition.
kumāra, a name of Kārttikēya (q.v.), the god of war. See *kumāragupta*.
kumāragupta (*kumāra* + *gupta*): (from *kumāra* = a child; son; prince: a name of the god of war): protected by the god of war: the name of the fourth Gupta Emperor.

kumārī, a young girl, a maiden, virgin: a name of the goddess Durgā (q.v.).
kumbhaka, stopping the breath by shutting the mouth and closing both nostrils with the fingers of the right hand: the *yōgī's* (q.v.) exercise. In Y.P., retention of breath.
kuṇḍalinī, ringed; a name of Śakti (q.v.). In Y.P., she who is coiled up in a ring, =Śakti: the power of the Spirit, the creative force of the phenomenal universe: =Vāgdēvī (q.v.): the Śakti of Vishṇu: the mother of the three Guṇas (q.v.): the mother of the Seed of Being (Bīja, q.v.): the super-subtile principle of Bliss: the Microcosmic Energy: =Tripura (q.v.).
kuntī, name of one of the wives of Pāṇḍu: mother of the Pāṇḍavas (q.v.).
kuṛaḷ, Tam, short: the name of the great ethico-religious classic, so called because it consists of short couplets of 4 and 3 feet each.
ḳur'ān, Ar., that which is read: the sacred book of the Muhammadans.
kursīnāma, modern Arabo-Persian term for a genealogical tree (*kursī*, a chair, a chair of state; genealogy +*nāma*, letter, record, history).
kuśala, merit of past actions.
ḳuṭbu'ddīn, Ar. (*ḳuṭbu'-l-dīn*), the pole-star of the faith: the name of the King of Kaśmīr in Lallā's time.

lakshmī, mark, sign; a good sign: good fortune: the goddess of good fortune and beauty: spouse of Vishṇu (q.v.) as the Adorable: the energic power of Vishṇu, identified with Śakti (q.v.).
lal =Sanskrit Lallā (q.v.), modern Kāśmīrī form of Lallā's name.
lalā, darling: modern Kāśmīrī form of the Sanskrit Lallā (q.v.).
lālbēgī (*lāl* + *bēgī*), modern Hindustānī name of a sect of the scavengers of India.
lal-ded (*lal* (q.v.) + *ded*); Kāśm., Granny Lal, a name for Lallā (q.v.).
lal-diddī (*lal* (q.v.) -*diddī* = *ded*), Kāśm. Granny Lal; Lallā (q.v.).
lal-dīdī (*lal* (q.v.) + *dīdī* = *diddī* = *ded*), Kāśm., Granny Lal: =Lallā (q.v.).
lalêśvarī (*lalā* + *īśvarī*), Lalā the Mistress: Lalā the Great. See Lallā.
lālīśrī (*lālī* + *śrī*), (Panjābī), Lālī the Great. See Lallā.
lallā, a female personal name: "darling": name of the authoress of the *Lallā-vākyāni* (q.v.).
Lallā-vākyāni (*Lallā* + *vākyāni*, see *vāk*), the word or sayings of Lallā: the Word of Lallā (q.v.).
lāl-wākhī (*lāl* + *wākhī*), Panjābī form of *Lallā-vākyāni* (q.v.).
lāmā, Kāśm., one of the divine Mothers of personified energies (see *śakti*) of the principal deities, closely connected with the worship of Śiva.
lāmā-tsakra-poshu (Kāśm., *lāmā*, Mother + *tsakra*, circle or assemblage, =Sanskrit, *chakra* + *poshu*, a beast, =Sanskrit, *paśu*), a beast devoted for sacrifice to all the Mothers.
lath, Kāśm., a kick: ill-treatment.
līj iyē, Hind., take ye.
liṅga, an emblem: phallus: emblem of Śiva in the form of a phallus: emblem of male reproductive power: emblem of the godhead. In Y.P., has a special signification.
liṅgāyat, modern form of *liṅgavat* (*liṅga* + *vat*), a *liṅga*-wearer; name of a Southern West-India Śaiva sect. See *liṅga* and *vīra-śaiva*.
lōbha, desire.
lōkôttara (*lōka* + *uttara*), beyond the universe or space; transcendental.
luṭfu'llāh, Ar. (*luṭfu-'llāh*), the grace of God: the name of the father of Nūru'ddīn (q.v.) Ḥāfiẓ Abru (q.v.).

mādhva, follower of Madhvâchārya (q.v.), a Vaishṇava sect.
madhvâchārya (*madhva* + *āchārya*), name of a South Indian and Deccan Vaishṇava leader.
madhyadēśa (*madhya* + *dēśa*), the middle place: the Midlands: the home of the Aryans: =Hindustān.
maga, a Magian: a priest of the Indian Sun-worshippers. See *saura* and *magi*.
magi (old Persian *magu*, *mugh*), priests in Zoroastrianism (*āthravan*, q.v.).
mahābhārata (*mahā* + *bhārata*), the great (story or poem of the) Bharatas (q.v.): one of the two great ancient Indian Aryan epics (see *Rāmāyaṇa*): with much philosophic extension, made the vehicle for sectarian teaching, chiefly by the Vaishṇavas.
mahākalpa (*mahā* + *kalpa*), a great *kalpa* (q.v.), or a hundred days of Brahmā.
mahākāntāra (*mahā* + *kāntāra*), the great forest, which once intervened between North and South India.
maḥalla, *maḥall*, Ar.-Pers.-Hind., a place: a quarter of a town.
mahāmahôpâdhyāya (*mahā* + *mahā* + *upa* + *adhyāya*), great teacher; doctor.
mahānirvāṇatantra (*mahā* + *nirvāṇa* + *tantra*), great treatise on heaven: name of a Left-hand Śāktic work of the eighteenth century. See *nirvāṇa* and *tantra*.
mahânubhāva (*mahā* + *anu* + *bhāva*), of great experience; of great esteem: a gentleman: name of a Vaishṇava sect in South-west India.
mahāprakṛiti (*mahā* + *prakṛiti*, q.v.), the Greater Nature. In Y.P., the super-subtile principle of Bliss.
mahārāja (*mahā* + *rāja*), great chief: one who lives as a great chief or rich man: title of the *guru* (q.v.) or *āchārya* (q.v.) of the Vallabhâchārya sect, from their style of living; of the sect itself.
mahārāshṭra (*mahā* + *rāshṭra*), great realm: Sanskrit form of Marāṭhā: the Western land of the Deccan.
mahat, great. In S.P., the great principle, the intellect. In Y.P., the material principle of the finite universe =Buddhi (q.v.) as distinguished from Manas (q.v.) + Ahaṁkāra (q.v.).
mahāvīra (*mahā* + *vīra*), the great champion: name of the founder of Jainism. See *jain*.
mahāyāna (*mahā* + *yāna*), the greater vehicle; the newer impure form of Buddhism, introduced into Tibet and influenced Ṣūfīism and Śāktism. See Ṣūfī and Śākta.
mahisha, great, powerful: a great powerful animal, a buffalo: a demon so named. See *mahishâsura*.
mahishâsura (*mahisha* + *a-sura*), the name of the demon (*asura*) Mahisha slain by Durgā (q.v.) in the Vindhyas (q.v.).
māi-lal-diddī (Kāśm., *māi*, mother + *lal* + *diddī*, q.v.). Mother Lal-diddī =Lallā (q.v.).
manas, the mind. In T.P., the ever-moving, the mind: desire incarnate.
mānavadharmaśāstra (*mānava* + *dharma* + *śāstra*), the code of law attributed to Manu (q.v.). See *dharmaśāstra*.
mānbhāu, modern form of *mahânubhāva* (q.v.): the name of a Vaishṇava sect in Southern West India.
maṇipūra (*maṇi* + *pūra*), the pit of the stomach; the navel; a mystical circle on the navel. In Y.P., the third circle (*chakra*, q.v.) in the body =Agni (q.v.) =seat of Rudra (q.v.): the epigastric plexus.

mantra, a sacred speech: a word or words of adoration: hymn: prayer: a nuptial verse: a magic formula: incantation, charm, spell: a mystical dedicatory phrase: a sect-watchword: a spoken charm of mystical value among the Śāktas (q.v.): identified with Śakti (q.v.): a password in initiation.
manu, thought: a man: *the* Man, father of the human race: the mythical Lawgiver of the Aryan Hindus.
manush, Kāśm., man, human being.
mānushabuddha (*mānusha*, human + *buddha*, q.v.), in late Mahāyāna Buddhism a human Buddha, the son of a Dhyāni Bōdhisattva (q.v.), of whom Gautama Buddha (q.v.) was one.
marāṭhā, *marāṭhī*, modern forms of *mahārāshṭra* (q.v.), a Marāṭhā: name of Vaishṇava sect.
masjid, Ar.-Pers.-Hind., the place of prostration in prayer: a place or house of prayer: a mosque.
mathurā, a city sacred to Kṛishṇa in Northern India: =Muttra.
maurya, patronymic of the first great Indian imperial dynasty from the fourth century B.C.
māyā, illusion. In T.P., the power of limitation or differentiation: illusion; obscuration: an aspect of Śakti (q.v.): negative self-effacing aspect of Śakti. In Śaiva Siddhânta, one of the forces binding the Soul: =Śakti. In T.P., the Cosmic Illusion.
māyâdhvan (*māyā* + *adhvan*), the path of illusion.
mēlā, a meeting: fair: religious fair.
mēru, the fabulous mountain which is the centre of the Earth.
mĕ tsĕ, *mĕtsĕ*, Kāśm., me and thee, and also mud (*mētsĕ*), a pun; play upon words.
mihira, Pers. *mihar*, the Sun.
mihirakula (*mihira* [Persian, *mihar*, the sun] + *kula*), of the race of Mihira: perhaps, servant of Mithras: Indian name of the great White Hun (Ephthalite) ruler of the sixth century A.D. in Northern India.
miliyē, Hind., meet ye!
mīmāṁsā, enquiry, investigation, exegesis: a system of Philosophy. See Vēdantā.
mīr, Ar.-Pers.-Hind., chief, leader: a title of the Sayyids (q.v.): a title prefixed to names of Muhammadan saints. See *amīr*.
mīr-muḥammad-hamadānī, Ar.-Pers. (*mīr* (q.v.) + *muḥammad* (q.v.) + *hamadānī*, see *hamadān*), the name of Sayyid Alī Hamadānī's (q.v.) successor in the saintship.
mīr-sayyid-muḥammad-al-ḥusainī, Ar.-Pers. (*mīr* (q.v.) + *sayyid* (q.v.) + *Muḥammad* (q.v.) + *al-Ḥusainī* (q.v.)): the name of the father of Sayyid 'Alī Hamadānī (q.v.).
mōha, unconsciousness: insensibility. In P., darkness; delusion, leading to belief in the reality of worldly objects.
mokand-rāzdān (*mukunda*, a name of Vishṇu (q.v.) + *rāzdān*), Kāśm., name of a *paṇḍit* (q.v.), the living descendant in the line of pupils from Vasugupta (q.v.) at Śrīnagar.
mōksha, setting free: emancipation. In P., release from existence in this world.
mudrā, a seal: sign: mystery: a ritual gesture with the fingers among the Śāktas.
muḥammad, Ar., greatly or highly praised: the name of Muḥammad.
mukti, loosening; liberation; deliverance. In P., final release from liability to transmigration: reabsorption of the living individual soul into the Supreme Universal Soul: salvation: release.

mukunda-rāma-śāstri (*mukunda*, a name of Vishṇu + *rāma* (q.v.) + *śāstri*, versed in the *śāstras* (q.v.)): the name of a great scholar in Kaśmīr.
mūlâdhāra (*mūla* + *ādhāra* (q.v.)), the root-support. In Y.P., the first of the seven circles (*chakra* (q.v.)) in the human body: =the Earth: =the seat of Brahmā: the sacral plexus.
mūlaprakṛiti (*mūla*, root, origin, + *prakṛiti* (q.v.), original form), the original germ of the material world.
musalmān, Pers., a Muhammadan. See Muslim.
muslim, Ar., one who professes the Muhammadan religion, a Musalmān (q.v.).
muttra, modern Anglo-Indian form of Mathurā (q.v.).

nabī, Ar., a prophet.
nāda, a loud sound. In Y.P., a mystic sound: one of the three Bindus: =Speech: the Elemental Sound, Logos: sound inside the body: sound of Kuṇḍalinī (q.v.), awakening: the sound of Śakti (q.v.).
nādabindu (*nāda* + *bindu* or *vindu*), the sound and dot or mark. In Y.P., the dot or semicircle placed above the written sign of *Ōm* (q.v.): =*anunāsika* (q.v.): a representation of the Supreme.
nāḍi, *nāḍī*, tubular stalk of a plant; tubular organ of the body; vein. In Y.P., a vein, artery, passage.
nāgarī. See *dēvanāgarī*.
nakshband, Pers. (*naksh*, a painting, + *band*), a painter, designer: title of Khwāja Muḥammad Bahāu'ddīn, founder of the order of Nakshbandīs (q.v.) settled in the Hazāra District of the Panjāb.
nakshbandī, Pers., a follower of Nakshband (q.v.); the name of a great order of Ṣūfīs (q.v.); founded by Khwāja Muḥammad Bahāu'ddīn Nakshband (q.v.).
nakula (*na* + *kula*), not a home. In Y.P., the antithesis of the Sahasrâra (q.v.).
nālanda, an ancient Buddhist monastery near Rājagṛiha (Rājghar) in Bihār.
nām, Hind., name.
nāmadēva (*nāma* + *dēva*), having the Name for god: name of a mediæval Marāṭhī teacher.
nāmarūpa (*nāma* + *rūpa*, form), name and form. In T.P., identification and form.
nambalbal (*nambal* + *bal*), Kāśm., the name of a quarter in the town of Pāmpūr.
nandi, the happy one; an attendant on Śiva; usually the bull on which he rides.
nand-ṛishi (*nanda*, pleasure, happiness + *ṛishi*, a sage); modern Kāśm. form: a name of Shēkh Nūru'ddīn (q.v.).
nārān, Kāśm., form of Nārâyaṇa (q.v.).
narasiṁha (*nara* + *siṁha*), man-lion: the lion among men, a mighty warrior: Vishṇu (q.v.) in his incarnation of Narasiṁha (Narsiṅgh).
nārāyaṇ, modern form of Nārâyaṇa (q.v.).
nārâyaṇa (*nara* + *ayana*), a patronymic = son of Nara, the original man: the first living being: identified with Vishṇu (q.v.) and Kṛishṇa (q.v.) chiefly, but also with Brahmā (q.v.) and Brahman (q.v.).
nāṣir, Ar., the aider. See Bābā Nāṣiru'ddīn.
nidrā, sleep. In Y.P., the negative action that occurs in sleep.
nimbârka (*nimba* + *arka*), name of the founder of a Vaishṇava sect in Northern India.

nirbīja (*nis* + *bīja*), seedless.
nirōdhapariṇāma (*ni-rōdha*, closing in + *pari-nāma*, change), closing and changing. In Y.P., paralysis of intellectual functions: arrest of the activity of the working state of thought.
nirvāṇa (*nir* + *vāna*), a being blown out, extinguished, annihilated. In the original B.P., annihilation of existence or release from existence, through cessation of desire. In Mahāyāna Buddhism, a heaven. In Y.P., a digit of the moon.
nishkala (*nis* + *kala*), without parts: impotent. In Y.P., the condition of the Purusha (q.v.) when not affected by Prakṛiti (q.v.).
nishkalaṅkâvatāra (*nis* + *kalaṅka* + *avatāra*), incarnation without stain, stainless incarnation: title assumed by the Mughal Emperor Akbar.
nityatva (*nitya* + *tva*), invariableness: perpetuity: eternity.
niyama (*ni-yama*), restraining; restraint: rule: contract: any self-imposed restraint or religious observance voluntarily practised. In Y.P., moral discipline in relation to oneself.
niyati (*ni* + *yati*), restraint, restriction. In T.P., restitution; regulation of space: access: limited access or operation: restriction; regulation of space: determinant of "where"; regulation.
nūrbakhshī, Ar.-Pers. (*nūr*, light + *bakhsh-ī*, giver), the light-giver, the name of an order of Ṣūfīs (q.v.): a branch of the Naḳshbandīs (q.v.). See Suhrawardī.
nūru'ddīn, Ar. (*nūru-'l-dīn*), light of the faith, the name of a great Ṣūfī (q.v.) saint. See Ḥāfiẓ Abru.
nūru'ddīn-shāh. See Shēkh Nūru'ddīn.
nūru'ddīn-walī. See Shēkh Nūru'ddīn.
nyāya (*ni-āya*), method; system: logical statement: the Nyāya Philosophy or System of Logic.

ōm, a sacred monosyllable of assent: an exclamation without definite meaning: later made mystical and personified as Mystery itself: used to represent Īśvara (q.v.), the Lord connected with *śabda* (q.v.), sound; used also to represent the spouse of Śiva. In Y.P., the ever-unobstructed sound or cry; = *nāda* (q.v.): *ōm maṇi padmē hum*, a mystical sentence: the mystical syllable: = the Supreme. See *anāhata-dhvani*.
ormazd, old Persian. See Ahuramazdā, Hormazd.

pāda, the foot. In prosody, a foot or quarter of a verse.
pādêndriya (*pāda* + *indriya*, q.v.), the power or sense of the foot. In T.P., locomotion.
pakharpūr (*pakhar* + *pūr*), name of a village near Śrīnagar, where Sayyid 'Alī Baghdādī (q.v.) is buried.
pakhlī, a place in the Hazāra district of the Panjāb, where there is a shrine to Sayyid 'Alī Hamadānī (q.v.).
pallava, a sprout: name of a South Indian Dynasty.
pāmpūr, a town in Kaśmīr.
pañchadēva (*pañcha*, five + *dēva*, god), the five household gods.
pañcharātra (*pañcha*, five + *rātri*, night), the Vaishṇava (Bhāgavata, q.v.) sect following the doctrines contained in the treatises called *Pañcharātra*, detailing the procedure during the five nights and days of sacrifice.
pāṇḍav, modern Kāśm. form of *pāṇḍava* (q.v.).
pāṇḍava, a patronymic: son of Pāṇḍu: name of the heroes of one party in the Mahābhārata (q.v.).

paṇḍit, *paṇḍita*, learned, wise: learned Brāhmaṇ teacher, a doctor; learned man; in Kaśmīr, a Brāhmaṇ.
pāndrēnthan, a town near Śrīṇagar.
pāṇini, name of the greatest Sanskrit Grammarian.
paramahaṁsa (*parama* + *haṁsa*), the highest Haṁsa (Haṁsa, a swan, the vehicle of Brahmā; the Supreme God): an ascetic of the highest order, who has become passionless through meditation.
paramakalā (*parama* + *kalā*), the highest art or contrivance. In Y.P., the super-subtile principle of Bliss.
paramakulapada (*parama*, highest + *kula*, home + *pada*, mark), the mark of the highest home. In Y.P., the highest home of Śiva and Śakti (q.v.).
paramâṇu (*parama*, the last, extreme + *aṇu*, particle), an infinitesimal particle; an atom; a minimum.
paramaśiva (*parama* + *śiva*), the Supreme Śiva: Śiva. In Y.P., the ultimate Supreme: the Supreme Experience: the Supreme universal Reality: the Reality: = God; the Absolute Transcendental Being: the Supreme Self: the Supreme.
paramâtman (*parama* + *ātman*), the Supreme Spirit: the Soul of the Universe. In Y.P., the Supreme Self: the Creator of the Cosmos.
parambrahma (*param* + *brahma*), the highest Brahma (q.v.). In Y.P. = Śiva.
paramêśvara (*parama* + *īśvara*), the Supreme Lord = Śiva. In Y.P., the Absolute Transcendental Being.
paramêśvarī (*parama* + *īśvarī*), the highest Mistress; the highest Lady. In Y.P., the super-subtile principle of Bliss.
parā-śakti (*parā* + *śakti*, q.v.), the supreme Energy.
parā-saṁvid (*parā* + *saṁvid*), the supreme Intelligence: the supreme experience: the higher Consciousness: Śiva.
paraśiva (*para*, farther + *śiva*), the distant Śiva. In Y.P., the Absolute Spirit: = Brahman (q.v.): = Purusha (q.v.).
paraśurāma (Rāma [q.v.] with the axe, *paraśu*), the legendary destroyer of the Kshatriyas.
pārśva, the name of the founder of the sect of ascetics out of which Mahāvīra (q.v.) created Jainism.
pārvatī, belonging to the mountains: a name of Durgā (q.v.).
pāśa, bond; limit. In T.P., the bond that limits the limited individual soul: one of the three Principles.
paśu, head of cattle: flock: herd: creature. In T.P., the limited individual soul: one of the three Principles.
pāśupata, belonging to the Lord of the Flocks: name of the Śaiva sect following Śiva as Paśupati (q.v.): the Lord of the flocks and herds (of souls).
paśupati (*paśu* + *pati*), Lord of the Flocks; Śiva as the Lord of the Flocks and herds (of souls).
pati, lord, master. In T.P., Śiva as the Lord of the Flocks of limited individual souls. See *paśupati*.
pavitra, means of purification: the sacred thread of the mediæval Vaishṇavas, as distinguished from the thread of the "twice born" (*upavīta*, q.v.).
pāyu, the anus: organ of excretion: rejection.
pāyvindriya (*pāyu* + *indriya*, q.v.), power or sense of excretion. In T.P., rejection.
piṅgalā, reddish brown: a chief passage for the breath. In Y.P., one of

the three principal *nāḍīs* (q.v.): identified with the Sun, with the Jamnā (Yamunā) river, and with Benares: the right sympathetic chord.
pīrzāda, Pers. (*pīr*, a saint + *zāda*, born), descendant of a saint; the name of a Muhammadan sect in Kaśmīr of foreign origin.
prajñâlōka (*pra-jña*, clever; wisdom + *ālōka*, sight), the power of wisdom. In Y.P., the light of intuition.
prākṛit, *prākṛita*, belonging to the original form (*prakṛiti*, q.v.), original; natural; aboriginal: a Prākṛit or aboriginal language: a vulgar unrefined Aryan language.
prakṛiti (*pra-kṛiti*, original form): a cause. In P., the originant: Nature: the material world. In T.P., Nature as the equipoise: one of the two principles of limited individuality: a limited Non-Soul, Nature: She: the individual Non-Soul; Nature; the Non-Soul: potentiality; power as the equipoise in Nature: the material Universe: Nature identified with Śakti (q.v.).
pralaya (*pra-laya*), dissolution.
pramāṇa (*pra-māna*), measure: standard: rule: judgment: proof. In Y.P., right judgment of real things.
prān, Kāśm., has two senses: (1) = *prâṇa* (q.v.) a vital breath: (2) an onion. Lallā plays upon the double meaning.
prâṇa, breathing; life. In T.P., vibratory movement; life: principle of vitality. In Y.P., the breath of life: the outward breath: one of the two principal airs of the body. See *apâna*.
prâṇâyāma (*prâṇa* + *āyāma*), restraining or suspending the breath. In Y.P., regulation of breathing.
prapatti (*pra-patti*), betaking oneself to another. In P., surrender of the soul to faith.
prârthanā-samāj (*prârthanā* + *samāj*); modern form, Prayer Society, a modern Community or Church in Bombay.
prasāda (*pra-sāda*): clearness: purity: tranquillity: serenity: good temper: graciousness: favour, grace.
pratyāhāra (*prati-āhāra*), drawing back. In Y.P., retracting the sense organs from objects of sense.
pratyabhijñā-śāstra (*prati-abhi-jñā*, recognising again + *śāstra*), a treatise on recognition. In T.P., a revealed treatise on the continuous recognition by man of his identity with Śiva; the dominating treatise in Kāśmīrī Śaivism.
pṛithivī, the Wide: the Earth; World. In T.P., solid stability: solidity: a solid object.
pūjārī, a modern form: one who performs *pūjā*, ritual worship: a priest, a temple ministrant.
puṇya, right: moral or religious merit: a meritorious act: merit of past actions.
pūraka, filling; completing: inspiring the breath. In Y.P., inspiration: drawing in breath.
purāṇa, belonging to ancient times: ancient traditional history: legend: the *Purāṇas*: archæologia. See *bhāgavatapurāṇa*.
pūrṇatva (*pūrṇa-tva*), fullness. In T.P., all-interest; all-satisfaction: satisfaction.
purusha, the male human being: Man personified: the Soul, Spirit: the Self of a human being. In T.P., the limited individual soul: one of the three mental capacities of the individual soul: one of the two principles of limited individuality: man; he: soul of man: the individual soul. In Y.P., the Absolute Spirit: = Para Śiva (q.v.): = Brahman: the principle of Cosmic Bliss.

pūrvamīmāṁsā (*pūrva* + *mīmāṁsā*), the enquiry into the first (part of the Vēda): a name of the *Karma-mīmāṁsa* (q.v.), = the older Indian Philosophy.
pyödil, Kāśm., the conduct of a government-messenger: making a living by oppression: wickedness generally.

rādhā, favour: female attraction: legendary chief of the Gōpīs (q.v.), mistress and wife of Kṛishṇa: the goddess Rādhā.
rādhā-kṛishṇa, a combination of Kṛishṇa and Rādhā (q.v.), used to symbolise complete and perfect faith. See Rādhā, Kṛishṇa and Sītā-Rāma.
rāga, colouring: affection. In T.P., attachment through interest: attention: limited interest: dissatisfaction: attachment to specific things. In Y.P., material desire.
rāhu, the seizer: the name of the demon who seizes the moon and causes an eclipse.
rainyā (Kāśm., voc. of *rainī*), lady: queen.
rāja, chief; king.
rājaputra (*rāja* + *putra*), son of the chief: belonging to the chief's family or clan: a follower of the chief: a Rājpūt.
rajas, foulness. In T.P., energy for good or evil, a feature of Prakṛiti (q.v.): evil passion: active evil: vice: wickedness: passion: suffering.
rājataraṅgiṇī (*rāja* + *taraṅgiṇī*), stream of kings: current history of the kings: name of the great ancient history of Kaśmīr.
rājpūt. See *rājaputra*.
rām, popular modern form of Rāma (q.v.): God.
rāma, originally the human hero of the *Rāmâyaṇa* (Vālmīki's, q.v.): representative later of the Godhead: an incarnation of Vishṇu as Bhagavān (q.v.): = God, in mediæval doctrine.
rāmachandra (*rāma* + *chandra*, glittering, shining: the moon: excellent), Rāma the Excellent. See Rāma.
rāmacharitmānas (*rāma* + *charita* + *mānasa*, the lake of the deeds of Rāma), modern title of the great sixteenth century poem of Tulasī-Dāsa (q.v.).
rāmakṛishṇa, follower of Rāma (q.v.) and Kṛishṇa (q.v.): a modern personal name.
rāmânanda (*rāma* + *ā* + *nanda*, happiness), name of a mediæval Vaishṇava reformer.
rāmânandī (*rāma* + *ā-nandī*), a follower of Rāmânanda (q.v.).
rāmânuja (*rāma* + *anu-ja*, born after), younger brother of Rāma (q.v.): name or title of the great Vaishṇava reformer of Southern India, of much influence in Kaśmīr.
rāmâyaṇa (*rāma* + *ayana*), the goings or adventures of Rāma (q.v.): name of the ancient epic poem attributed to Vālmīki (q.v.): by philosophic extension made the vehicle for sectarian teaching of the Vaishṇavas: it had a mediæval version. See *mahābhārata*.
rasa, the sap or juice of a plant: taste: flavour: inclination: interest.
rasana, taste.
rasanêndriya (*rasana* + *indriya*, q.v.), the power or sense of taste. In T.P., taste.
rasatanmātra (*rasa* + *tan-mātra*, q.v.), the elementary matter of taste. In T.P., taste.
rāshṭrakūṭa (*rāshṭra* + *kūṭa*), the top, head of the country: name of a mediæval dynasty in the Western Deccan.
rēchaka, emptying; exhalation. In Y.P., the final expiration of retained breath.

rig-vēda (*rik* + *vēda*), the science of praise: a collection of verses spoken at a sacrifice in the earliest Aryan days in India: the oldest revealed Hindu Scripture, and the foundation of all the rest.
rudra (*rud-ra*), the roarer, howler: the terrible: the storm-god: = Śiva: a Vedic god.
rudragranthi (*rudra* + *granthi*). In Y.P., one of the "knots" (*granthi*, q.v.) in the Ājñā (q.v.) Circle.
rudrasampradāya (*rudra* + *sampradāya*, q.v.), the Church or Community of Rudra (q.v.): a Vaishṇava community.
rūpa, colour: shape: form.

śabda, sound: connected with *ōm* (q.v.) and with the spouse of Śiva.
śabdabrahman (*śabda* + *brahman*), Speech-Brahman. In Y.P., the Sound in the Bindu: the commencement of the material principle.
śabdatanmātra (*śabda* + *tan-mātra*), the elementary matter of Sound. In T.P., sound: causative element of sound.
sabījasamādhi (*sa* + *bīja*, with seed + *sam-ādhi*), intent contemplation. In Y.P., "the stillness of the spirit with the seed": the seed of futurity.
sab-kā, Hind. (*sab* + *kā*), of all: of every one.
sab-sē, Hind. (*sab* + *sē*), with all; with every one.
sādākhya. In T.P., being: abstract being: principle of pure being: general principle of being: life.
sādākhyatattva (*sādākhya*, q.v. + *tat-tva*). In T.P., the third stage of cosmic development: sometimes the first stage: experience of existence without consciousness: life in general.
sadāśiva (*sadā* + *śiva*), the ever happy: Śiva: the eternal Śiva.
sadvidyā (*sat* + *vidyā*), good learning. In T.P., true knowledge: correlation: general principle of correlation between the experiencer and the experienced: abstract transcendental knowledge. See *śuddhavidyā*.
sahasrâra (*sahasra* + *ara*), having a thousand divisions. In Y.P., the Seventh Circle (*chakra*, q.v.) in the body at the base of the palate: = Mount Kailāsa (q.v.): = the House of Śiva: the antithesis of Kula: the Absolute: the medulla oblongata.
sahazānand (Kāśm., = Sanskrit, *sahaja* + *ānanda*), a name of Shēkh Nūru'ddīn (q.v.).
śaiva, belonging to Śiva: a follower of Śiva: name of the smaller of the two main divisions of the Hindus: originally unorthodox. See also *śākta*.
śaivâgama (*śaiva* + *ā-gama*), name of a Śaiva manual or text-book.
śaivasiddhânta (*śaiva* + *siddhânta*, q.v.), name of a Śaiva School in South India.
śaivayōga (*śaiva* + *yōga*, q.v.), the Yōga practice and doctrine as propounded by Śaivas.
śaivayōginī (*śaiva* + *yōginī*), a female devotee: a professed female practitioner of the Śaiva-yōga (q.v.).
śaka, strong: mighty: Scythian.
śākadvīpa (*śāka* + *dvīpa*), the land of the Śakas or Scythians.
śākta, relating to Śakti (q.v.): followers of Śakti: a member of a Śākta sect, which is essentially Śaiva (q.v.), found among the Buddhists; rose out of Durgā-worship.
śakti, ability: power; energy. In P., divine Energy personified as the wife of a god: the female Energy of life: symbol of female reproductive power: the Highest Energic Power: originally the spouse of various gods, Śiva, Brahmā, etc.: among the Vaishṇavas as the spouse of Vishṇu, identified with Lakshmī; as the spouse of Kṛishṇa identified with Rādhā: in Buddhism. In T.P., the creative power of Śiva: one of the three principles: abstract power: spouse of Śiva and his female aspect: the Śaiva principle of creative power inherent in the godhead: the exercise of Śiva's energy with five primary powers: the power of the Spirit: the principle of alternation. In Y.P., identified with Prakṛiti (q.v.): = Kuṇḍalinī (q.v.): = the Supreme. In Śaiva Siddhânta = Māyā (q.v.).

śaktitattva (*śakti* + *tattva*), the principle of energy or power. In T.P., perfect Bliss: the supremest self-satisfaction: absolute Rest.
śākyasiṁha (*śākya* + *siṁha*), the lion of the Śākya tribe or family: a title of the Buddha, often used as his personal name.
samādhi (*sam* + *ādhi*), putting together; collecting or composing the mind: intent contemplation: perfect absorption of thought: silence: stillness: perfect stillness.
samādhipariṇāma (*sam-ādhi* + *pari-nāma*), development of the perfect absorption of thought. In Y.P., cognition restricted to a single object of outward or inward perception.
samāj (*sam* + *āja*), modern form: a meeting; congregation; society.
samāna (*sam* + *āna*), breathing; breath. In Y.P., breath in the navel.
samashṭi, collection. In Y.P., the universal (pure + perfect) power of Evolution.
sāmavēda (*sāma* + *vēda*), the science of conciliation: science of chants: collection of chants sung at a liturgy: name of one of the early revealed Scriptures of the Hindus.
śambhu (*śam* + *bhu*), being for happiness: causing happiness: a name for Śiva.
sampradāya (*sam-pra-dāya*), a giving over: tradition: established doctrine: special system of teaching: a Church; a religious community.
samprajñātasamādhi (*sam-prajñāta*, accurately known + *sam-ādhi*, q.v.), perfect stillness. In Y.P., stillness of spirit.
saṁsāra (*sam* + *sāra*), a course; passage: a course of mundane existence through repeated births; the world: the universe.
saṁskāra (*sam* + *s* + *kāra*), making perfect: forming in the mind: a faculty. In Y.P., mental predisposition.
saṁskṛita. See *sanskrit*.
samuchchaya (*sam-ud-chaya*), heaping together; collection: combination. In P., the combination of knowledge, faith and meditation.
samudragupta (*sam-udra* + *gupta*), protected by the ocean: name of the second Emperor of the Gupta Dynasty.
saṁyama (*sam-yama*), restraint; religious training. In Y.P., complete training.
sanakādisampradāya (*sanaka* + *ādi* + *sam-pra-dāya*), the Church or Community of (beginning with) Sanaka, an ancient Sage.
saṅkalpa (*sam-kalpa*), will: wish: desire. In T.P., desire: eager desire.
śaṅkar, modern form of Śaṅkara (q.v.).
śaṅkara (*śam* + *kara*), the cause of happiness: auspicious: a name for Śiva: the Supreme Śiva: the name of Śaṅkarâchārya (q.v.).
śaṅkarâchārya (*śam-kara* + *ā-chārya*), Śaṅkara the Teacher: name of the great mediæval South Indian Vedantist leader.
sāṅkhya, relating to intellectual contemplation (*saṅkhyā*): systematic enumeration: name of one of the original Indian Aryan philosophies, because it enumerates or reckons up the twenty-five true principles (*tattva*, q.v.): the Sāṅkhya Philosophy.

sāṅkhyayōga (*sāṅkhya* + *yōga*), the combined Sāṅkhya (q.v.) and Yōga (q.v.) philosophy.
saṅkīrtana (*sam* + *kīrtana*), celebrating with song: panegyrising: greatly celebrating: devotional excitement.
sannyāsī (*sam-ni-āsī*), one who lays down, abandons, renounces: renouncer: retired from the world: religious ascetic and teacher: religious mendicant: a member of an ascetic order.
sanskrit, properly *saṁskṛita* (*sam-s-kṛita*), put together: made perfect: polished: refined: the Sanskrit language: the speech of the cultured Aryans.
śāradā, name of a goddess: =Sarasvatī (q.v.) =Durgā (q.v.): name of a shrine in Kaśmīr.
sarasvatī (*saras* + *vatī*), having water: name of a river goddess: the goddess of speech: learning: spouse (*śakti*, q.v.) of Brahmā.
sarvajñatva (*sarva-jña-tva*), familiarity with all things: omniscience. In T.P., all-consciousness: all-knowledge: all-vision.
sarvakartṛitva (*sarva* + *kartṛi-tva*), creativeness of all things. In T.P., all-authorship: all-creatorship.
sarvâstivāda (*sarva* + *asti* + *vāda*). In B.P., the doctrine that "all things exist": Buddhist realistic Philosophy.
sarvâstivādin, a believer in the *sarvâstivāda* (q.v.): a realist.
śāstra, a rule. In P., a thought expressed in speech: expression: a standard authority: an authoritative treatise in any department of knowledge.
sat, true: truth.
satī, good, true (fem.): a virtuous wife: one who burns herself with her husband's corpse.
satīsaras (*satī* + *saras*), the name of a lake in Kaśmīr said to have filled the whole valley.
sattāmātra (*sat-tā* + *mātra*), the measure of being: mere existence.
sattva (*sat-tva*), being: true essence: goodness: purity. In T.P., a feature of Prakṛiti (q.v.): passive goodness: virtue: subconscious goodness: pure consciousness of enjoyment: passive goodness.
saura, belonging to Sūra, commonly Sūrya (q.v.), the Sun: name of an Indian Hindu sect of Sun-worshippers.
savitṛi, the generator, the Sun.
sāyaṇa, the name of a great Vaishṇava commentator on the Vēda and *Karma-Mīmāṁsā* (q.v.).
sayyid, Ar., lord; chief; prince: a descendant of the Prophet Muḥammad (q.v.), or of Ḥusain (q.v.): a title prefixed to the names of some Muhammadan saints: name of a Muhammadan sect in Kaśmīr, looked on as of foreign (Persian) origin.
sayyid-'alī-baghdādī, Ar.-Pers. (*sayyid*, q.v. +*'alī*, q.v. +*baghdādī*, q.v.), the name of a lieutenant of Shēkh Nūru'ddīn (q.v.).
sayyid-'alī-hamadānī, Ar.-Pers. (*sayyid*, q.v. +*'alī*, q.v. +*hamadān-ī*, q.v.), name of a great saint: the Muhammadan Apostle of Kaśmīr.
sed, Kāśm., for Sanskrit *siddha*. See *siddh*. When prefixed to Muhammadan names refers to *sayyid* (q.v.).
sed-bāyū, Kāśm. (*sed*, q.v. +*bāyū*), the name of the spiritual preceptor of Lallā.
sed-śrīkaṇṭh, Kāśm. (*sed*, q.v. +*śrī-kaṇṭh*, blessed throat, epithet of Śiva), the name of a teacher in the direct line of pupils from Vasugupta (q.v.), the founder of modern Kāśmīrī Śaivism.
shāh, Pers., a king: prince: noble: great: excellent: a title prefixed and suffixed to the names of great Muhammadan saints.

shāh-hamadān, Pers. (*shāh*, q.v. +*hamadān*, q.v.), the saint of Hamadān: a name of Sayyid 'Alī Hamadānī: the name of a mosque in Śrīnagar raised in memory of Sayyid 'Alī Hamadānī (q.v.).
shāh-jahān, Pers. (*shāh*, king +*jahān*, the world), the King of the World: the name of a Mughal Emperor.
shāh-rukh, Pers. (*shāh*, q.v. +*rukh*, a knight-errant; a kind of fabulous bird), the name of the son of Tīmūr.
shaiva, a common spelling of *śaiva* (q.v.).
shamsu'ddīn, Ar. (*shamsu*, sun +*'l-dīn*), the sun of the faith: the name of a king of Kaśmīr in Lallā's time or just before it: name of Nakshbandī (q.v.), saints. See Amīr Sulṭān Shamsu'ddīn and Amīr Shamsu'ddīn 'Irāḳī.
shēkh, Ar., an elder; a chief: head of a religious fraternity: a title prefixed to the name of Muhammadan saints.
shēkh-nūru'ddīn, Ar. (*shēkh*, q.v. +*nūru-'l-dīn*, q.v.), the name of the national patron saint of Kaśmīr.
shī'a, Pers., the name of the followers of 'Alī (q.v.).
shihābu'ddīn, Ar. (*shihābu*, a bright star +*'l-dīn*), the bright star of the faith: a name of Sayyid 'Alī Hamadānī (q.v.).
shiv, modern form of Śiva (q.v.).
shiva, a common spelling of Śiva (q.v.).
shrī, a common spelling of *śrī* (q.v.).
shuñ, Kāsm., =*śūnya* (q.v.).
siddh (Panjābī form of Sanskrit *siddha*, q.v., accomplished, perfected, sanctified), a holy person who has attained to one of the stages of beatitude.
siddha, accomplished, perfected: a semi-divine being endowed with supernatural faculties: a holy personage.
siddhânta (*siddha*, accomplished +*anta*, end), the established end: demonstrated conclusion of an agreement: settled doctrine: conclusive text-book.
siddhârtha (*siddha* + *artha*), the personal name of the Buddha.
sikandar, Pers., for Iskandar, Alexander: name of the king of Kaśmīr immediately after Lallā's time, surnamed the Iconoclast. See Butshikan.
silsila, Arab., a chain: series: line: pedigree: sacerdotal genealogy of a Ṣūfī (q.v.) sect.
sind, modern form of *sindhu* (q.v.).
sindhu, the ocean: the Indus River: the country of Sindh or Sind about the lower Indus: an important river in Kaśmīr. See Syundu.
sindhu, Sanskrit form of the Kāśm. *syundu*, the river Sindh, a principal river in Kaśmīr.
sītā, a furrow: goddess of agriculture: wife of Rāma (q.v.) and symbol of female virtue.
sītārāma (*sītā* + *rāma*), a combination of Sītā and Rāma (q.v.), symbolising perfect conjugal purity.
śiva, the auspicious; the benign: an ancient Hindu god, but yet not found by that name in the Vēdas (q.v.): the chief god of the Śaiva Hindus, later identified with the Supreme (God): the god of the Himālayan mountains: identified with the Lord (see *īśvara*); the personal Supreme: one of the Hindu Triad: among the Śaktas (q.v.) identified with Brahman: the dancing Lord: equal with Vishṇu: one of the Five Gods. In T.P., one of the Three Principles: the one Reality: the impersonal Supreme: the Benign: =the limited Self or Soul, *and* thought or mental perception, and the experiencing principle: the highest reality: the Supreme Reality. In Y.P., the absolute Transcendental Being. In Śaiva Siddhânta, the Supreme Being.

śivapada (*śiva* + *pada*), the mark of Śiva. In Y.P., the seat of Śiva.
śivaśakti (*śiva* + *śakti*, q.v.), the spouse of Śiva, coequal with him.
śivasūtra (*śiva* + *sūtra*, q.v.). In K.P., philosophy or *memoria technica* of Śiva: the Śaiva doctrine.
śivatattva (*śiva* + *tat-tva*), the principle of auspiciousness. In T.P., the principle of absolute Benignity: abstract experience: the first stage in cosmic evolution: the Ego in general: Benignity: the general principle of the Ego: the transcendental Ego: the Supreme Universal Reality: pure Spirit: pure light of Intelligence.
skanda, the leaper: the god of war: the son of Śiva and Pārvatī (q.v.).
smārta, relating to *smṛiti* (q.v.), tradition: a Brāhmaṇ following the household rites: a member of the Smārta sect.
smṛiti, remembrance: that which is remembered (*not* revealed): tradition: the Tradition, non-canonical Scripture.
sō'ham (*sō* + *aham*), I am He. See *haṁsaḥ*.
sōma, distilled, strong drink: sacrificial strong drink: personified as a god: the god of strong Drink: = *haōma* (q.v.) of the Zoroastrians.
sōmânanda (*sōma* + *ā-nanda*), name of a Kāśmīrī philosopher.
spandaśāstra (*spanda*, motion + *śāstra*, treatise), a treatise on motion. In T.P., a revealed doctrine amplifying the Śiva-sūtra.
sparśa, touching: sensation: feeling.
sparśatanmātra (*sparśa* + *tan-mātra*), the element of feeling. In T.P., feeling.
sparśanêndriya (*sparśana* + *indriya*), the power or sense of touch. In T.P., touch.
śravaṇa, the act of hearing.
śravaṇêndriya (*śravaṇa* + *indriya*, q.v.), the power or sense of hearing. In T.P., hearing.
śrī, prosperity, dignity, glory, renown: Prosperity: Fortune: Beauty: the spouse of Vishṇu. See Lakshmī.
śrīkaṇṭha (*śrī* + *kaṇṭha*), the blessed throat: = Śiva. In T.P., = Śiva.
śrīkaṇṭha-tattvêśa (*śrī-kaṇṭha* + *tat-tva* + *īśa*), the Lord of the principle of the blessed throat: = Śiva.
śrīnagar, *śrīnagara* (*śrī* + *nagara*), the blessed city: Śrīnagar in Kaśmīr.
śrīraṅgam (*śrī* + *raṅgam*), blessed (city of) Raṅga or Vishṇu (q.v.).
śrīraṅgapaṭṭaṇa (*śrī-raṅga* + *paṭṭaṇa*), city of the blessed Raṅga (Vishṇu): Seringapatam.
śrīsampradāya (*śrī* + *sam-pra-dāya*, q.v.), the Church or Community of Śrī (Lakshmī, q.v.).
śrīvaishṇava (*śrī* + *vaishṇava*), a Vaishṇava who specially worships Śrī (q.v.): a mediæval sect founded by Rāmânuja (q.v.).
śrīvidyā (*śrī* + *vidyā*), exalted knowledge: a Śākta cult with a severe form of Yōga (q.v.) discipline.
śruti, hearing: an oral account: a revealed statement in the Hindu Canon: revelation: Scripture: textual Scripture.
stōbha, that which praises; a form of Vedic music.
subrahmaṇya (*su* + *brahmaṇya*), a sacrificial priest: a name of Kārttikēya (q.v.), god of war.
śuddhâdvaita (*śuddha* + *a-dvaita*), pure monism (*advaita*, q.v.).
śuddhâdhvan (*śuddha* + *adhvan*), the true path.
śuddhavidyā (*śuddha* + *vidyā*), true knowledge. In T.P., true knowledge: correlation.
śūdra, a menial: a member of a servile order or class of the Aryan Hindus: a member of the Śūdra caste with a peculiar status in the South.

ṣūfī, Ar., the name of an unorthodox sect of Muhammadan philosophers.
suhrawardī, Pers., the name of an order of Ṣūfī (q.v.) saints. See Nūrbakhshī.
sukha, bliss, inactive pleasure: pleasure.
sukhāvatī, abode of delight; land of the blest: paradise.
sulṭān, possessor; prince; king; sovereign: ruler: a title prefixed to the names of Muhammadan saints: a title of some of the kings of Kaśmīr.
sum, Kāśm., a bridge: a crazy footbridge of only two or three planks to cover the gaps in an embankment.
suman-sŏthi-manz-lūstum-dŏh (Kāśm. expression, *suman* + *sŏthi*, the embankment with bridges (see *sum*) + *manz*, in + *lūstum-dŏh*, daylight came to an end for me), in the embankment with crazy bridges the day came to an end for me.
sunnī, Ar., lawful: the name of the orthodox Muhammadan sect.
śūnya, a void, vacuity. In T.P., non-existence: the reality of nothing: dreamless sleep: experience of the existence of Nothing. In Y.P., the transcendental Void.
śūnyatā (*śūnya-tā*, = *tva*, -ness), emptiness: the doctrine of Vacuity in Mahāyāna (q.v.) Buddhism.
sūra, the Sun. See Sūrya.
sūrya, the Sun, the Sun-god: one of the Five Gods: identified with the Absolute (Brahman).
sushumnā (*su* + *sumnā*), rich in happiness: highly blessed. In Y.P., one of the three principal *nāḍīs* (q.v.) identified with Agni (q.v.) and with the Sarasvatī (q.v.) River: the spinal cord: the principal air-tube of the body.
sūtra, a short technical sentence or verse used as a *memoria technica* for memorising points in philosophic explanations of the Scriptures: mnemonic phrase for remembering points of argument for the use of teachers: highly abbreviated manual of science.
svâdhishṭhāna (*sva* + *adhi-sthāna*), presiding over self: basis. In Y.P., the second circle (*chakra*, q.v.), in the body: = Varuṇa (q.v.) = seat of Vishṇu.
svayambhū (*svayam* + *bhū*), self-existent.
svayambhūliṅga (*svayam-bhū* + *liṅga*), self-existing phallus. In Y.P., the phallic emblem of the self-created Being: = Śiva.
śvētâmbara (*śvēta* + *ambara*), white-clad: the sect of the Jains who dress in white. See Digambara.
swa-mana-sŏthi-manz (Kāśm. expression, *swa-mana-sŏthi*, the embankment of one's own mind + *manz*, in), in the embankment of the illusion of the mind. See *suman-sŏthi-manz*. Lallā plays on the likeness of the two phrases in sound.
syundu, Kāśm. form of Sindhu (q.v.).

tamas, blindness. In T.P., one of the features of Prakṛiti (q.v.): darkness, ignorance: blindness: delusion: insensibility to feeling.
tamiḷ, modern form: the largest of the Dravidian populations of South India. See Draviḍa. Believed to be a form of the same root from which comes the Sanskrit Draviḍa.
tanmātra (*tan-mātra*), only so much: a very little: elementary or rudimentary matter: element: rudiment: something. In T.P., a causative element of sense-perception: one of the five Elements: a notion: the element of causation; exciting cause outside the human body.

tantra, a thread: an uninterrupted series; a leading principle: main doctrine: theory: a treatise, especially but not necessarily, on magical doctrines and formularies. A scripture or manual of the Śākta (q.v.) sect: a Tantra: teaching.
tārā, a star. In Mahāyāna Buddhism, name of the wife of Avalōkitēśvara (q.v.).
tat, it. See *tat tvam asi*.
tattva (*tat-tva*), being that; thatness: real or true state: truth: reality: real, true, essential nature: essence, properly a point. In P., actuality: principle; true principle: truth, reality: first principle. In T.P., a stage in cosmic evolution: a principle of evolution or development: factor: one of the Thirty-six Factors: one of the Five Universal Principles: a fundamental principle: a step or stage in human experience: a principle of experience: a unit of evolution.
tat-tvam-asi, It thou art: assertion of the identity of the human Self with the Supreme Self.
tattvêśa (*tat-tva* + *īśa*), the lord of a stage in evolution. In T.P., the lord of a *tattva* (q.v.): a separate entity of Nature.
tilaka, an anointment: a diagram with magic powers: a mark on the forehead to denote sect (*not* caste).
tīmūr, the name of the great Mughal conqueror, Tamerlane.
tīrthakara, *tīrthankara* (*tīrtha*, a passage; a ford; a place for descending into a river; a holy place + *kara*, a maker), a ford-maker: a shewer of the passage through life and beyond: revered traditional teacher of the Jains: one of the twenty-four holy Jain apostles.
traipura (*trai* + *pura*), belonging to *tripura* (q.v.), Śakti (q.v.). In Y.P., the name of a *yōni* (q.v.): the three principles of fire, sun and moon.
trika, triad: the Śaiva Advaita (q.v.) Philosophy of Kaśmīr, based on a triple principle: the Trika Philosophy.
trikōṇaśakti (*tri* + *kōṇa* + *śakti*), the triangular Śakti (q.v.) in the heart.
trimūrti (*tri* + *mūrti*), of three forms: the Hindu Triad, which is not the same as the Christian Trinity: in the Vaishṇava version, a Trinity: in the Mānbhāu version, not a Trinity.
tripiṭaka (*tri* + *piṭaka*), three baskets: the name of the original Buddhist Canon.
tripura (*tri* + *pura*), three cities: the three mythological cities burnt by Śiva: = Śiva: in feminine form, the spouse of Śiva, Śakti (q.v.). In Y.P., = Kuṇḍalinī (q.v.).
trivēṇī (*tri* + *vēṇī*), triple braid: Tribēnī = Allāhābād. In Y.P., identified with *brahmarandhra* (q.v.).
tsrār-sharīf (*tsrār*, Kāśm., + Arab. *sharīf*, noble, holy), the name of a town near Śrīnagar in Kaśmīr: home of Shēkh Nūru'ddīn (q.v.): shrine to him there: tomb of Bābā Nāṣiru'ddīn (Nāṣir) also there.
tulasīdāsa (*tulasī*, basil sacred to Vishṇu + *dāsa*, q.v., worshipper), a Vaishṇava: name of a great Vaishṇava poet.

udāna (*ud* + *āna*), breathing upwards. In Yōga Philosophy, breath in the throat.
umā, light: splendour: also tranquillity; night: the daughter of the Himâlaya (q.v.), wife of Rudra (q.v.), Vedic form of Śiva; identified with Durgā.
unmēsha (*ud* + *mēsha*), opening the eyes: awaking: becoming aware: opening out. In T.P., experiencing out: thinking: physical or mental reproduction: the Law of Logical Necessity.

upâdhi (*upa-ā-dhi*), deceit: disguise. In P., the disguise of the spirit: distinguishing property.
upanishad (*upa-ni-sad*), sitting at the feet to obtain information: confidentially secret information: esoteric doctrine. In P., an extension of a Brāhmaṇa (q.v.), and as such a revealed Scripture and part of the Hindu Canon.
upâsana (*upa* + *āsana*), sitting beside: attendance: worship: meditation.
upastha (*upa-stha*), the lap: the middle part of anything: generative organ: the secure place.
upasthêndriya (*upa-stha* + *indriya*, q.v.), the organ of generation: sense of security.
upavīta (*upa-vīta*), the act of putting on the thread worn by the three "twice-born" castes: the sacred thread: the "Brahmanical" thread.
uśana, desire: subconscious desire. See *ēṣaṇa*.
ustād, Pers., master: expert: preceptor: teacher.
uttaramīmāṁsā (*ud-tara*, later + *mīmāṁsā*, q.v.), enquiry into the later part of the Vēda (q.v.): a name for the Vēdânta (q.v.).

vāch, speech.
vāgdēvī (*vāk* + *dēvī*), goddess of speech. In Y.P., the Goddess of Speech.
vāgindriya (*vāk* + *indriya*, q.v.), the power and sense of speech. In T.P., expression.
vairāgī (*vi-rāga*), freed from worldly desires: an ascetic: passionless: an ascetic of the Rāmânanda (q.v.) sect.
vaiśēshika (*vi-śēsha*), the Vaiśēshika Philosophy of Particularity: the Atomic Theory.
vaishṇava, belonging to Vishṇu; a follower of Vishṇu: the larger of the two main divisions of the Hindus (there is a third main division, see Śākta): originally orthodox: absorbs the Bhāgavatas (q.v.).
vaiśvānara (*vaiśva* + *nara*), present with all men: fire: the digestion. In Y.P., the digestive process.
vaiśya, a man on the land: a man of the people: an agriculturist; a trader: a member of the Vaiśya order or class of the Aryan Hindus: a member of the Vaiśya caste.
vaitaraṇī (*vi-taraṇa*, the crossing), the name of the river that must be crossed before the soul can enter the infernal regions: the river of hell.
vajra, adamant: thunderbolt: lightning. In Y.P., a bright *nāḍī* (q.v.) inside Sushumnā (q.v.). In Mahāyāna Buddhism, a phallus.
vāk, speech. In Y.P., = *nāda*.
vākyāni, plural of *vākya*, a speech: saying: aphorism: = Word.
vallabhâchārya (*vallabha* + *āchārya*, q.v.), beloved or supreme teacher: name of a mediæval Vaishṇava (q.v.) teacher; also of his sect.
vālmīki, the reputed author of the classical epic, the *Rāmâyaṇa* (q.v.).
vāmâchārī (*vāma*, left hand + *āchārī*), a follower of unorthodox ritual: a member of the Left-hand or Impure sect of the Śāktas (q.v.).
varaṇa, warding off: restraining. In Y.P., a name of *iḍā* (q.v.).
varuṇa, the screener: the Vedic god of the Firmament: the God of the Waters: the oldest Indian form (now obsolete) of the Supreme.
vāsanā, knowledge derived from memory: fancy: inclination. In Y.P., mental predisposition: influence of former works upon the soul.
vāsudēva (*vasu* + *dēva*), the patronymic of Kṛishṇa, often used by itself as the personal name of Kṛishṇa, and so for the god Kṛishṇa.
vasugupta (*vasu* + *gupta*), the name of the author of the Kāśmīrī *Śiva-sūtra* (q.v.): founder of modern Kāśmīrī Śaivism.

vātāpi, old name of a Chālukya (q.v.) capital in South India (Dhārwāṛ).

vāyu, the air: wind. In T.P., the atmosphere: aeriality. In Y.P., a wind dwelling in the body.

vēda, that which is perceived: knowledge: sacred knowledge: sacred science: science: book or work of science: revealed Scripture: the (four) Vēdas formed the basis of the Hindu revealed orthodox Canon. See *brāhmaṇa*, *āraṇyaka* and *upanishad*.

vēdânta (*vēda* + *anta*, the end): final end or aim of the Vēda: one of the original Schools of Indian Aryan philosophy (in this case really revelation): the Vēdânta Philosophy. See *mīmāṁsā*.

vēdântadēśika (*vēdânta* (q.v.) + *dēśika*, a guide or teacher), name of a Southern Vaishṇava teacher.

vēdântasūtra (*vēda-anta* + *sūtra*, q.v.), the aphorisms of the Vēdânta Philosophy.

vĕth, Kāśm. See Vitastā; the name of the principal river in Kaśmīr, called in India generally the Jehlam: in Kaśmīr it is always a "woman."

vibhūti (*vi-bhūti*), great power: superhuman power. In Y.P., miraculous power.

vidyā, knowledge. In T.P., limited knowledge: perception without interest; inattentive perception: limited consciousness or knowledge: purview: limited cognition.

vidyāpati (*vidyā* + *pati*), Lord of knowledge: name of a Vaishṇava poet in Tirhūt.

vijñānavāda (*vi-jñāna* + *vāda*), the exposition or theory of *vijñāna*, understanding, wisdom. In B.P., the ideal theory: idealism. See *yōgâchāra*.

vikalpa (*vi-kalpa*), alternation: uncertainty: ambiguity. In Y.P., imagination without corresponding reality.

vikramâditya (*vikrama* + *āditya*), the sun of valour: name of several celebrated rulers in ancient India.

vindhya, the sacred range of mountains stretching across Central India, and dividing the North from the South. See *mahākāntāra*.

vindusāra. See *bindusāra*.

viparyaya (*vi-paryaya*), inversion: inverted order: error: misapprehension: failure of conception. In Y.P., false judgment of real things.

vīra, heroic; excellent, eminent: a hero, mystical hero: godling.

vīraśaiva (*vīra* + *śaiva*), excellent or true Śaivas: a South-Western Indian Śaiva sect. See Liṅgāyat.

viśēsha (*vi-śēsha*), distinction, discrimination. In P., individual sense: distinguishing nature: differentiation of atoms.

vishaya (*vi-saya*), an object of sense: sense.

vishṇu, the pervading: a Vedic god, then of second rank: god of the sun-sacrifice: subsequently the chief god of the Vaishṇava (q.v.) Hindus, later identified with the Supreme (God): identified with the personal Supreme: the Lord; see *īśvara*: with the Adorable (Bhagavat, q.v.); the one God: with Mithras, the Sun God: with the Supreme Self: with Brahman (q.v.): equal with Śiva: one of the Hindu Triad: one of the Five Gods.

vishṇugranthi (*vishṇu* + *granthi*, a knot, q.v.). In Y.P., the "knot" in the Viśuddha Circle (q.v.).

vishṇusvāmi (*vishṇu* + *svāmi*, lord), name of a South Indian Vaishṇava (q.v.) leader and of his sect.

viśishṭâdvaita (*vi-śishṭa* + *a-dvaita*), modified non-duality: Rāmânuja's (q.v.) modification of Śaṅkarâchārya's monistic system: modified monism.

viśuddha (*vi-śuddha*), completely purified: clean; pure: rectified. In Y.P., the fifth circle (*chakra*, q.v.) of the body: the throat: = *ākāśa* (q.v.), ether: the seat of Sadāśiva: the laryngeal or pharyngeal plexus.

viśvanātha (*viśva* + *nātha*), lord of the universe. In Y.P., the Lord of the Universe.

vitastā, the name of a river in the Panjāb and Kaśmīr: the Jehlam. See Vĕth.

viṭhōbā, a modern form of Viṭṭhala (q.v.).

viṭṭhala, name of an incarnation of Kṛishṇa (q.v.), = Vishṇu (q.v.), worshipped in the Western Deccan: = a blend of Vishṇu and Śiva.

vivēka (*vi-vēka*), discrimination: judgment. In Y.P., the essential distinction.

vṛindāvana (*vṛindā* + *vana*), the wood of sacred basil: a forest in the Mathurā (Muttra, q.v.) district where Kṛishṇa (q.v.) was brought up with the Gōpīs (q.v.).

vṛitti, turning: staying: course of conduct, behaviour: mode of life: activity. In Y.P., moral and intellectual functions.

vyāna (*vi-āna*), that air which circulates through the body: a vital air. In Y.P., breath circulating through the body.

vyāpakatva (*vi* + *āpaka-tva*), pervasion: omnipresence. In Y.P., all-pervasion.

vyashṭi (*vi-ashṭi*), individuality: singleness. In P., the individual (impure and imperfect) process of Evolution.

vyōmajñāna (*vyōma*, q.v. + *jñāna*, q.v.), knowledge of the sky: heavenly knowledge.

vyōman, the sky.

vyūha (*vi-ūha*), placing or moving apart: separation: distribution: orderly arrangement. In P., arrangement: formation: structure: reasoning: logic: the doctrine of Cosmic Expansion: doctrine (Vaishṇava, q.v.) of self-expansion and emanation in human form.

wākh (Kāśm. form of Sanskrit *vākya*), a word, saying.

wākhī (Panjābī form of Sanskrit *vākya*), a word, saying.

wali, Ar., master; lord; prince: a title suffixed to the names of great Muhammadan saints.

yādavagiri (*yādava* + *giri*), the hill of the Yādavas: Mēlkōṭ in Mysore.

yajurvēda (*yajus* + *vēda*), science of religious formula: science of ritual and sacrifice: one of the early revealed Scriptures of the Hindus.

yama, a curb: the god Yama, originally ruling the ancestors as spirits of the dead in a happy world; the God of heaven rewarding virtue: later the Restrainer punishing the wicked: the judge of the soul after death: the God of Hell. In Y.P., moral discipline in relation to others.

yantra, means of restraint: a diagram with magic powers: amulet; of mystical value among the Śāktas (q.v.).

yōga, joining together: a yoke, with all that is involved in the idea of being yoked together or restrained. In P., restraint: discipline: specialised religious discipline: mental and bodily exercise designed ultimately to attain release from existence in this world. See Mōksha. In Y.P., doctrine of the Philosophy: originally an atheistic philosophy closely connected with the Sāṅkhya (q.v.): approaches the Ṣūfī (q.v.) Muhammadan system.

yōgâchāra (*yōga* + *āchāra*), practice of *yōga*: a name for the Vijñānavāda (q.v.) philosophy of the Buddhists.

yōgêśvara (*yōga* + *īśvara*), a master of the Yōga (q.v.).

yōgī, *yōgin*, a follower of the Yōga (q.v.) philosophy: a *yōgī* or contemplative ascetic: a saint: a devotee: an ascetic in general.

yōgiṇī, a female *yōgī* (q.v.): female mendicant devotee.

yōgīśvarī, *yōgêśvarī* (*yōga* + *īśvarī*), Mistress of the Yōga Philosophy: a title of Lallā.

yōni, the womb: vulva: site of birth: lair. In P., the emblem of female Energy. In Y.P., the female organ of generation: a three-cornered space in the body: an inverted triangle in the body: a triangle in the body: a reversed triangular space in the body.

zadi-bal (Kāśm., *zadi* + *bal*), the name of a quarter of Śrīnagar.

zakhīratu'l-mulūk, Ar. (*zakhīratu*, treasure + *'l*, + *mulūk*, kingdom), the name of a treatise on political ethics by Sayyid 'Alī Hamadānī.

INDEX

No diacritical marks are used in this index except in a few instances to differentiate words of the same letters but of a different sense: *e.g.* *kāla*, time, and *kalā*, art.

CAMBRIDGE: PRINTED BY W. LEWIS AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS